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I.—THE CLASSICAL ORIGIN AND TRADITION OF LITERARY CONCEITS.

The most casual reader of English poetry of the Elizabethan period doubtless has been struck by the frequent appearance of catalogues of feminine charms, a simple example of which is furnished by the following sonnet of Thomas Watson, *Hecatompathia* 7: "Hark you that list to heare what sainte I serve: / Her yellowe lockes exceede the beaten goulde; / Her sparkeling eies in heav'n a place deserve; / Her forehead high and faire of comely moulde; / Her words are musicke all of silver sounde; / Her wit so sharpe as like can scarce be found; / Each eyebrowe hanges like Iris in the skies; / Her eagles nose is straight of stately frame; / On either cheeke a rose and lillie lies; / Her breathe is sweete perfume or hollie flame; / Her lips more red than any corall stone; / Her necke more white than aged swans yat mone; / Her breast transparent is like christall rocke; / Her fingers long fit for Apolloes lute; / Her slipper such as Momus dare not mocke; / Her vertues all so great as make me mute; / What other partes she hath I neede not say, / Whose face alone is cause of my decay". For similar catalogues cf. *Constable, Diana*, Son. 7, 1; *Barnes, Odes Pastoral*, Canz. 3; *Lodge, Rosalynd*, ed. Hazlitt, p. 69, *Rosader's Description of Rosalynd*, *Phillis*, Son. 22; *Heywood, A Praise of His Lady*; *Gascoign, Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*; *Spenser, Amoretti*, Son. 15; *Epithalamion* vs. 147 sq.; *Sidney, Astrophel and Stella*, Son. 9, and an atrocious example in *Arcadia* Bk. 2, the song beginning, "What tongue can her perfection tell"?; in the drama, cf. *Greene, Friar*

Bacon, 1, 1, 51 sq.; Kyd, Soliman and Perseda 4, 1, 75 sq.; Lyly, Midas 4, 1. It is this habit of cataloguing beauty which Chapman rebukes in his first sonnet to "his Mistress Philosophy", beginning "Muses that sing Love's sensual empery", etc., and of which Shakespeare makes fun in *L. L. L.* 4, 3, for example, where Biron says: "When shall you hear that I / Will praise a hand, a foot, a face, an eye, / A gait, a state, a brow, a breast, a waist, / A leg, a limb"? Cf. Henry V, 3, 7, R. and J. 2, 1, the Pyramus and Thisbe episode in *M. N. D.* 3, 1 and 5, 1, also Son. 106, 130, but even Shakespeare could not wholly escape, especially in his earlier poetry, the prevailing evil of his day; note his description of Lucrece in *The Rape of Lucrece*, St. 55 sq., and cf. *Troil. and Cres.* 1, 1.

The type of beauty which is praised by these poets in their catalogues is, with hardly an exception,¹ a blonde, whose hair is golden, eyes sparkling bright, and grey in color, cheeks lily white and rosy red, red lips, white teeth, snow-white arms, and white hands, with long, slender fingers. I have called attention elsewhere² to the fact that this blonde beauty is not peculiar to the poets of the Elizabethan period, but is praised by all the English poets beginning with Chaucer; that the same type predominates, to the practical exclusion of her dark sister, in the love poetry and prose romances of Italy and France from the 12th century onward; that, moreover, this reign of the blonde in modern literature is but a continuation of her reign in the literature of Greece and Rome; that all the Roman love-poets, and the later Greek writers of romance and erotic letters, give to the ladies whom they desire to praise the same golden or auburn hair, sparkling eyes, white skin, red lips, slender white hands, and that their models, the Greek Alexandrian poets, praise the same blonde type; that, finally, the Greek heroes and heroines, gods and goddesses, with one or two prominent exceptions,³ are

¹ Shakespeare's "dark lady", Son. 127-32, may be mentioned; I agree with Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 122, that she is a creature of his fancy. Sidney's Stella differs from the common type only in her black eyes; this also may be conventional, as the black eye is common in Spanish, Italian, and classic poetry; cf. Montemayor, *La Diana*, Parte Pr., Lib. 7; Ariosto, *O. F.* 7, 10 sq.; Catull. 43, 2, with Ellis' note.

² *Sewanee Review*, Oct., 1912, pp. 459 sq.

³ Zeus and Poseidon, for example; this problem, which is anthropological rather than literary, I shall consider in a later article.

described as blondes by Homer and the early poets, and continued to be so described by succeeding writers, in spite of the fact that the Greeks of the classical period had dark hair and dark eyes.

I shall endeavor to show now that, just as the type of beauty which is praised by the modern literary lover is traditional, so the language in which he tries to do justice to the charms of his beloved is also traditional,—that modern writers have added scarcely a word to what we may call the ancient lover's vocabulary. It is not feasible, of course, even if it were useful, to collect all the examples of any given conceit, and I have chosen a few representative examples only. Nor have I tried, except in a few instances, to trace direct borrowing, for the effort, owing to the multiplicity of possible originals, is generally futile. The main course of tradition, however, is plain enough. The prime source was, I believe, the literature of the Greek Alexandrian age. From this drew the Roman Elegiac poets, the writers represented in the Greek Anthology, the professional rhetoricians and the writers of erotic letters and romance; and through them, and especially through the rhetorical schools, the stream passed on into the literature of the entire western world. No one could map out the general course of this tradition more clearly than does Chrétien de Troyes in his tale of Cligés, 31 sq.: *Ce nos ont nostre livre apris/Que Grece ot de chevalerie/Le premier los et de clergie; /Puis vint chevalerie a Rome/Et de la clergie la some/Qui or est an France venue.* Beginning with the Renaissance, however, Italian poetry was perhaps the main channel through which the traditional conceits were distributed, but, at the same time, the prime source, the literature of Greece and Rome, was also accessible, and it is often impossible to tell from which drew the French and English poets of the 15th and 16th centuries.

In the present paper, which is one of several dealing with the whole subject of lovers' conceits, I shall consider some of the conceits employed by the literary lover to praise the beauty of his lady, and the sonnet of Watson, quoted above, may serve, for the sake of convenience, as the starting point.

The first item in this catalogue is the lady's hair: "Her yellowe lockes excede the beaten goulde." That this is the stock description of the yellow hair of all literary heroines beginning

with classic poetry I have pointed out in the article referred to above.¹ There are, however, some interesting variations, one of the most common of which occurs in Shakespeare's *M. of V.*, 3, 2, 120. When Bassanio finds in the casket the portrait of Portia he exclaims, "Here in her hairs/The painter plays the spider, and hath woven/A golden net to entrap the hearts of men/Faster than gnats in cobwebs"². For examples of this conceit in the writings of Shakespeare's predecessors, cf. Daniel, *Delia* 14: "Those snary locks are those same nets, my dear,/Wherewith my liberty thou didst surprise"; Constable, *Diana* 4, 2: "So many hearts bound in thy hairs as thrall"; Spenser, *Am.* 73: "My hart, (whom none with servile bands can tye,/But the faire tresses of your golden hayre)"; *ib.* 37: "What guyle is this, that those her golden tresses/She doth attyre under a net of gold; /And with sly skill so cunningly them dresses,/That which is gold, or heare, may scarce be told? /Is it that men's frayle eyes, which gaze too bold,/She may entangle in that golden snare"?; imitated by Constable, *Diana* 2, 8; Sidney, *Song to the Tune of a Neapolitan Villanelle*: "All my sense thy sweetness gained,/Thy fair hair my heart enchained". For this figure in French poetry we may compare Desportes, *Diane* 2, 41: *cheveux—mon cœur, plus que mon bras, est par vous enchaîné*; *ib.* 1, 31; *Am. d'Hipp.* 85; *Diverses Amours*: *A Mademoiselle de la Chastaigneraye*; Baif, *Amours de Francine* 3 (*Poésies Choiesies*, ed. Becq de Fouquières p. 159): *Quand ces cheveux je voy, dont Amour m'apresta/Le bien heureux filét où pris il m'arresta*; Jodelle, *Les Amours*, Son. 9. From Italian poetry it will suffice

¹ All of Shakespeare's heroines who are explicitly described, except Rosaline in *L. L. L.*, have golden or auburn hair, as have the heroines of the other dramatists of his age; the same golden-haired beauty is praised by the English, French, and Italian sonneteers; she appears in the poetry of Hawes, Lydgate, Chaucer, Froissart, Lorris, Chrétien and other old French poets, in that of Ariosto, Boccaccio, and earlier poets, such as Jacopo da Lentino, Guinicelli; that the same type was common in Spanish literature is shown by the ridicule made of it in *Don Quixote*, cf. Pt. I, ch. 28, Pt. II, ch. 58. For the ideal of beauty in old French poetry, cf. Voigt, *Das Ideal der Schönheit u. Hässlichkeit in den altfranzösischen chansons de geste*, Diss. Marburg, 1891; Loubier, *Das Ideal der männlichen Schönheit bei den altfranz. Dichtern des XII. u. XIII. Jahrh.* Diss. Halle, 1890.

² These last words seem to be a reminiscence of "good old Mantuan", *Ecl.* 1, 42: *me mea Galla suo sic circumvenerat ore/ut captam pedicis circumdat aranea muscam*.

to cite Tasso I, Son. 8: ondeggiavano sparsi i bei crin d'oro / Ond' Amor mille e mille lacci ordiva; id. Son. 49, 252; Ariosto, Madrigale 1: le chiome bionde/Di che più volte hai la tua rete intesta; Son. 25: l'aureo crine, onde Amor fece quella/Rete, etc.; cf. Son. 9; Petrarch I, Son. 215: O chiome bionde, di che 'l cor m'annoda/Amor, e così preso il mena a morte; id. Canz. 14, Son. 164.

This conceit does not appear, as far as I have discovered, in exactly this form in ancient literature, but the idea is evidently due to it. Both Greek and Latin poets often write of Love (Aphrodite, Venus, Eros, Amor, Cupido) as a hunter who ensnares lovers in a net,¹ and Greek poets sometimes describe the eyes of their beloved, not the hair, as the net in which their gaze or their heart is held captive. The origin of this idea is to be found, I think, in a fragment of Ibycus, Fr. 2 (Bergk 3, p. 236): "Ερως . . . με κυανέοισιν ὑπὸ βλεφάροις τακέρ' ὄμμασι δερκόμενος . . . δίκτυα Κύπριδος <με> βάλλει. The next step, however, the identification of the eye with the net, seems to have been due to Alexandrian poetry; cf. Dioscorides, A. P. 5, 56: γλῆναι λασίασιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν ἀστράπτουσαι. /σπλάγχνων ἡμετέρων δίκτυα καὶ παγίδες; cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 113: Καὶ τὸς Ἔρως ὁ πτανὸς ἐν αἰθέρι δέσμιος ἦλω/ἀγρευθεὶς τοῖς σοῖς ὄμμασι; id. 12, 109, 144; Philostr. Ep. 10: οὕτω καὶ γὰρ σε ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φέρω πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ὀμμάτων δικτύοις. Very often, too, the eye is described as baited with bird-lime; cf. A. P. 5, 100: εἴ μοι τις μέμφοιτο, δαεῖς ὅτι λάτρης Ἔρωτος/φοιτῶ, θηρευτὴν ὄμμασιν ἰξὼν ἔχων" cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 132; Rhianus ib. 12, 142; Aristaen. Ep. 2, 21.² In the Roman erotic poets I have noticed no example of either of these conceits. The idea, however, that the eyes were snares for lovers must have been common³ since

¹ Cf. Ariphron vs. 5 (Smyth, Melic Poets, p. 134): οὗς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἔρκεσιν θηρεύομεν. Meleager, A. P. 5, 177; Plautus, Trin. 237; Lucret. 4, 1146 sq.; Ov. Her. 19, 45; cf. Carm. Bur. (ed. Schmeller) 116, 3: tendit modo retia/puer pharetratus; ib. 129, 3; from modern poetry cf. Petrarch I, Son. 142, 147, 163, 167; Boccaccio, La Teseide 3, 43; so Douglas in Prol. to Aen. 4, speaks of Love as "Quent fendes net, to God and man odibill"; cf. Dunbar, Poems 46, 102; Milton P. R. 2, 162, "amorous nets".

² Cf. Timotheos fr. 15 (Bergk 3, 625): οὐθ' ὁ περὶ τὸς ἰξὼς ὀμμάτων, Ἔρως/ὁ Κύπριδος κυναγός, ἡ φρενῶν ἄκας; Plautus Bacc. 50: viscus merus vestra est blanditia; (cf. Anth. Lat. No. 381: ut visco capiuntur aves; ut retibus apri, sic ego nunc Dulcis diro sum captus amore.)

³ Cf. also the expression in Plautus, M. G. 990: viden tu illam oculis venaturam facere atque aucupium auribus?

Phaedr. 4, 5, 4 describes a girl, *oculis venantem viros*. The conceit, moreover, turns up again in the Middle Ages; cf. Carm. Bur. 57: *sic capi cogit sedulus/me laqueo/virgineo/cordis venator oculis*;¹ ib 172, 8: *ubi Venus digito/iuvenes venatur/oculis inlaqueat/facie predatur*; ib. 137, 4: *visus tuus ligat me/miserum frequenter*. Nor in modern literature is this form of the conceit very common; we may note Ariosto, Son. 32: *D'ogni sguardo soave in somma fatte/Le reti onde a intricarsi il mio cor vola*; in this same sonnet he also makes the eyebrows the net: *Le ciglia e quei legami/Del mio cor*; Baif, Am. de Meline, ed. cit., p. 100: *cet oeil m'éprit et ce rét m'arresta/Pris et bruslé par leur douce cautelle*; cf. Jodelle, Chansons 3; Desportes, Eleg. 1, 4: *vous qui tenez ma vie en vos yeux prisonnière*. In English poetry, cf. Wyatt, Doubtful Love: "Avising the bright beams of those fair eyes/Where he abides that mine oft moistens and washeth, . . . What webs there he hath wrought well he perceiveth"; Sidney, As. and St. 11: "Love . . . thou straight lookst babies in her eyes,/In her cheeks pit thou didst thy pit-fold set"; Lodge, Rosalynd, p. 121, Phoebe writes to Ganymede, "My eyes . . . were drawn by beauty, which being rare, . . . has so snared the freedom of Phoebe as she restes at thy mercie". Who was responsible for this shift from eyes to hair it is impossible to say. Petrarch seems to have been the first to make the change, inspired, perhaps, by some such passage as Chrétien, Cligés 1194 sq. where Fenice's hair is woven into the web of a garment and is indistinguishable from the gold thread; cf. Spenser, cited above.

The next item in Watson's catalogue, "Her sparkling eies in heav'n a place deserve", cf. Son. 21: "Her eies which are two heavenly stars", furnishes an example of what is perhaps the most common conceit in modern poetry, the comparison of the lady's eyes which are always bright, to the stars, sun, moon. Although Shakespeare exclaims, Son. 21: "So is it not with me as with that Muse . . . Who heaven itself for ornament doth use,

¹In view of the passage quoted from Phaedrus and the frequency in ancient literature of the conceit that a maid hunts hearts (cf. Ov. Med. Fac. 27) and ensnares them with her eyes, it is hard to see how Meyer, Zeitschr. f. D. Altert. 29, p. 181, in arguing that this poem has a German origin, can cite these words as proof and claim that they repeat a German proverb, *ez sint gedanke und ougen des herzen jeger tougen*, Freidank 115. The evidence would seem to show that the reverse is true.

... Making a complement of proud compare/With sun and moon", etc., and although he ridicules such comparisons, cf. *L. L. L.* 4, 3, 5, 2; *T. of S.*, 4, 5—yet he employs these same conceits both in his sonnets and in his plays; cf. *Son.* 14, 49; *W. T.* 5, 1; *M. N. D.* 1, 1; especially, *R. and J.* 2, 2: "Juliet is the sun! . . . Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven,/ Having some business, do entreat her eyes/To twinkle in their spheres till they return", etc. Among his predecessors it will suffice to note *Barnes*, *Son.* 34; *Ode* 10; *Constable*, *Diana*, 7, 1; *Daniel*, *Delia*, 30; *Gascoign*, *Dan Bartholemew of Bathe*; *Spenser*, *Am.* 1, 9; *Sidney*, *As. and St.* 8; of the dramatists, cf. *Lyly*, *Midas* 4, 1; *Kyd*, *Soliman and Perseda*, 4, 1, 75 sq.; *Spanish Trag.* 3, 14, 99; from the earlier poets, cf. *Hawes*, *Past. of Pleasure*, *Cant. XIX*: "O eyen bright as starre refulgent"; the description of *Helen* in the old alliterative translation of *Guido's Hist. Troiana* (cf. *E. E. Texts* 39, 56), vs. 3036: "Hir ene wull full onest euyn of a mesure,/Shynyng full shene as the shire sternys". Note the different character of this conceit in *Chaucer*, *Prol.* 269, of the *Frere*, "his eyen twinkled in his heed aright/As doon the sterres in the frosty night"; this is imitated by *Heywood*, *In Praise of his Lady*: "Her beauty twinkleth like a star/Within the frosty night", and in *Wily Beguiled* (*Dodsley-Hazlitt* v. 9, p. 314). In French and Italian poetry the conceit is even more common; cf. *Desportes*, *Diane* 1, 11, 35; *Cleonice* 24, 54; *Baif*, *Am. de Meline* 1 (p. 101): *en deus beaus yeux . . . Deus beaux soleils*; *Jodelle*, *Chanson* 3: *Alors du tout sur luy tes deux beaux astres/Luiront sans cesse*; *ib.* *Chanson* 10; *Chapitres d'Amour* 2; *Marot*, *Epigr.* 165: *celle qui porte un front cler et serain/Semblant un ciel où deux planettes luyent*. It is the favorite comparison employed by *Lorenzo de' Medici* to describe the brightness of his lady's eyes, cf. *Son.* 25, 68, 69, 71, and *Petrarch* continually likens *Laura's* eyes to the sun, moon, or stars; cf. *I*, *Son.* 140: *Mirando 'l Sol de' begli occhi sereno*; *id.* 125, 127, *II*, 315; cf. *Tasso* *I*, *Son.* 10, 21, 151; *Sannazaro*, *Arcadia*, *Prosa IV*: *occhi lucidissimi scintillavano, non altrimenti che le chiare stelle sogliono nel sereno e limpido cielo*; from the earlier poets, cf. *Lapo Gianni* (*Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, *Fir.* 1816), 2, p. 121: *gli occhi suoi lucenti come stella*; *Lanzaloto* *ib.* 1, 164: *Como lo Sol . . . così mi fan li vostri occhi sbaldire*. The figure is common, also, in Spanish literature; cf. *Montemayor*, *La Diana* *I*, *Lib. IV*: *Si hebra de oro son*

vuestros cabellos,/á cuya sombra estan los claros ojos,/ dos soles, and Cervantes ridicules it in *Don Quix.* II, ch. 44: en la luz de tus dos soles/se siente abrasa el alma. From early French poetry, cf. *Lorris*, *La Roman de la Rose* 2991: Li oel qui en son chief estoient/A deus estoilles ressembloient, and *Chrétien de Troyes*, *Erec et Enide* 433: Li huil si grant clarté rendoient/Que deus estoilles ressembloient.

In Greek and Latin poetry of the best period this comparison¹ is not as common as one would suppose, and the earliest example which I have noted is *Prop.* 2, 3, 14: oculi, geminae sidera nostra faces. That it occurred in *Callimachus*, however, we may infer, I think, from the description of *Cydisippe* given by *Ovid* and *Aristaenetus*; *Ov. Her.* 19, 55: oculique tui quibus ignea cedunt/Sidera; *Arist. Ep.* 1, 10: ἀμφω δὲ λαμποῖς ὄμμασιν οἷον ἀστέρες ἀνταγοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, φαιδρότερον τῆς ἀλλήλων ἀπέλανον ἀγλαίας, cf. *ib.* 1, 7; *Ov. Am.* 2, 16, 44: perque oculos, sidera nostra, tuos; *ib.* 3, 3, 9; *M.* 1, 499; 3, 420; *Petron.* 126 where the beauty has oculi clariores stellis extra lunam fulgentibus; *Mart.* 4, 42, of his ideal slave-boy: lumina sideribus certent; *Stat. Silv.* 2, 1, 41: O ubi purpureo suffusus sanguine candor/sidereique orbes, radiataque lumina caelo/Et castigatae collecta modestia frontis. In later Latin poetry the conceit is very common;² cf. *Arboreus*, ad *Nympham* 33: cum radiis certare Iovis tua lumina possent,/Et possent radiis vincere signa Iovis; *Incerti ad Lydiam* 9: pande puella stellatos oculos; it occurs in *Carm. Bur.* 40, 141, 6; in *Hildebert of Tours* (*Migne* 171, col. 1309) *Passio S. Agnetis*; in *Anselm*, ed. *Dümmler*, *Vers. Eporediensis* I, 17, 259. Interesting parallels to the passage cited above from *Romeo and Juliet* are *Philostr. Ep.* 10: ἀπιδὼν δ' ἐς οὐρανὸν τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἡγοῦμαι κατιέναι καὶ κάτω που βαδίζειν, ἀντ' ἐκείνου δὲ σὲ φαίνειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ νύξ γένοιτο, δύο βλέπω μόνους ἀστέρας, τὸν ἔσπερον καὶ σέ; and *Jodelle*, *Son.* 5: Si deux flambeaux du ciel les plus vifs ont pris place/Dessous ton front.

¹ Very common, on the other hand, is the comparison of a person's beauty to a star or to the sun or moon; cf. *Alcman fr.* 23 (*Bergk* 3, p. 38); *Sappho fr.* 3; *Hom. Hymn.* 4, 86; *Theocr.* 18, 26; *Ap. Rh.* 1, 774; *Meleager A. P.* 12, 59; *Musaeus* 55; *Hor.* 3, 9, 21, 19, 26; *Ov. Her.* 17, 150; *Claud. Epithal. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 243. The figure goes back to *Hom. Il.* 6, 401.

² Hence it is found in the *Ars versificatoria* of *Mathieu de Vendôme*, an item in a stock description of a beauty: stellis preradiant oculi; vs. 15; ed. *Bougain*, p. 26.

The eyes are often compared, also, to lamps or torches or flames, and Love is represented as lighting his torches at the lady's eyes. Thus Lodge, *Rosalynd*, p. 70, makes Rosader sing of Rosalynd: "Nature herself her shape admires,/The gods are wounded in her sight,/And Love forsakes his heavenly fires,/And at her eyes his brand doth light"; Jonson, *Underwoods*, *A Nymph's Passion*: "he hath eyes . . . Where Love may all his torches light"; Chapman, *First Son. to his Mistress Philosophy*: "Lovers kindling your epraged fires/At Cupid's bon-fires burning in the eye"; Shakespeare *Son. 153*: "At my mistress' eye Love's brand new-fired/The boy for trial needs would touch my breast"; cf. *id. V. and A. 1128*: "Where lo! two lamps burnt out in darkness lies"; with this cf. Spenser *F. Q. 3, 5, 29*, of the wounded Timias: "In whose fair eyes, like lamps of quenched fire"; for the other idea cf. *id. F. Q. 2, 3, 23*: "In her eyes . . . the blinded god his lustful fire/To kindle oft assayd". Peele, *Dav. and Beth. 3, 2*, calls David "the lampe of Israel/From whose bright eyes all eyes receive their light";¹ Du Bartas, trans. by Sylvester, *Divine Weekes, 6th Day, 1st Week*: "These lovely lamps whose sweet sparks", etc.; Sidney, *Arcadia Bk. 3, Musidorus' song to Pamela*: "Her sight where Love did forge his fairest dart"; cf. *ib. As. and St. 46*; Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte 1115*: "hir eyn in certeyn,/Resembled unto torchys tweyn"; Chaucer, *R. of R. 3200*: "Hir eyen . . . cleer and light/As any candel that brenneth bright". Although the French and Italian poets frequently refer to the flame which darts forth from the eye (cf. the passages cited below), I have found no example of the conceit which makes Love light his torch there;² nor does the comparison of the eye to a lamp or torch occur often; cf. Desportes, *El. 1, 11*: *portant dans les yeux/Tous les flambeaux d'Amour qui consomment les dieux*; *id. Diane, 2, 75*; Baïf, *Amour Fuitif, p. 55*: *ses yeux comme*

¹ Aristaen. *Ep. 1, 1*, uses this conceit of a lady's beauty: *ποσούτων αὐτῇ περίεστιν εὐπρεπείας ὥς τῶν προσιόντων ἀγλαΐζειν τὰς κόρας τὴν Λαΐδα*. This idea I shall consider at length in a later paper.

² An interesting variant is furnished by Maurice Scève (in Crepet, *Les Poet. Fran. 1, p. 647*): *L'Archer fut sans traict, Cypris sans flamme./Ne pleure pas, Venus; mais bien enflamme/La torche en moy, mon cœur l'allumera*. With this cf. Anth. *Plan. 209*: *οὗτος ὁ τὸν δαλδὸν φνσῶν, ἵνα λύχνον ἀνάψῃς/δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς ψυχᾶς ἄψον· ὅλος φλέγομαι*. Cf. *A. P. 9, 15*.

chandelles/Brillant autour d'ardentes étincelles;¹ id. Am. de Meline 1 (p. 100): Dedans cest œil Amour a mis sa flâme; Guido Guinicelli (Poeti 1, p. 100) says of Lucia, gli occhi suo' ch' en (= sono) due fiamme di fuoco. The conceit appears in Chrétien, Cligés 813, where of Soredamour it is said that she has "clear eyes like two candles aflame", iauz . . . qui samblent deus chandoiles qui ardent.

For the appearance of this conceit in ancient literature, we may cite Musaeus 90: ξὺν βλεφάρων δ' ἀκτίσιν ἀέξετο πυρρὸς ἐρώτων. Marot, Leander et Hero, 170 sq., translates this closely: Aux raiz des yeulx creut le brandon plus fort/D'Amour cruel; in Heliod. Aegyp. 3, 4, Charikleia appears carrying in one hand a bow, in the other a torch, but "her eyes shine brighter than the light from the torch"; cf. Claud. Epith. de Nupt. Hon. Aug. 266: non crines aequant violae, non lumina flammae; id. Carm. Min. 30, 120 (ed. Koch p. 243): utraque luminibus timidum micat, utraque pulchro/excitat ore faces; Stat. Ach. 1, 164, of Achilles: tranquillaeque faces oculis; Prop. 2, 3, 14, calls Cynthia's eyes geminae faces,² and Tibul. 4, 2, 5, says of Sulpicia: illius ex oculis, cum vult exurere divos,/accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor,—a passage which the English poets and Desportes seem to have had in mind. This form of the conceit, indeed, as far as we can judge, seems to have originated with Tibullus. That the eyes emit flames of fire is, however, a commonplace in all poetry and is especially frequent in the later Greek epigrams and rhetorical exercises; cf. Pind. fr. 123: τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτίνας προσώπου μαρμαρίζουσας δρακεῖς, Soph. ap. Athen. 564 C (cf. frag. 433 N): τοιάνδ' ἐν ὄψει λίγγα θηρατηρίαν/ἔρωτος, ἀστραπὴν τιν' ὀμμάτων ἔχει. With these passages, cf. Meleager, A. P. 12, 127: διπλαῖ δ' ἀκτίνες με κατέφλεγον· αἱ μὲν Ἔρωτος/παιδὸς ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν, αἱ δὲ παρ' ἡελίου. Strato, ib. 12, 196: ὀφθαλμοὺς σπινθήρας ἔχεις . . . ἀστράπτεις ὄμμασιν. Cf. A. P. 5, 111, 251, 12, 72, Philostr. Jun. Imag. 9, 1; Callistr. Descr. 3, 3; Himer. Or. 1, 19; of the Latin poets it will suffice to cite Ov. Ars Am. 1, 573; 2, 721; Stat. Silv. 2, 6, 54 sq. The conceit is simply an

¹ Moschus, 1, 7, a poem which Baif is translating, says simply: ὄμματα δ' αὐτῷ/δριμύλα καὶ φλογόντα.

² Cf. the poem in Wernsdorf, PLM. 3, 197: huc illuc flectat ocellos,/hinc illinc videas currere mille faces; the poem, which is ascribed to Gallus, is late; cf. Teuffel, Geschich. d. Röm. Literatur (6th ed.) 2, p. 51. We may note, also, Carm. Bur. 132, 3: lampas oculorum/concertat carbunculo.

extension of a very natural metaphor; cf. such passages as Soph. Trach. 379 of Iole: ἡ κάρτα λαμπρὰ καὶ κατ' ὄμμα καὶ φύσιν. Bacchyl. 17, 54 (Jebb); Hom. Il. 19, 366 of Achilles: τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε/λαμπέσθην ὥσεί τε πυρὸς σέλας.

This flame which comes from the eyes of the lady passes through the lover's eyes into his heart. "Thine eye darts forth the fire that burneth me", cries Venus to Adonis in Shakespeare's poem (vs. 196), and this is the cry of every literary lover to his beloved; cf. Daniel, Delia 14; Constable, Diana 1, 5, 6, 5; Barnes, Son. 94: "Through mine eye thine eyes' fire inflames my liver"; id. 61, 65; Watson, Hecatomp. 35, 41; Sidney, As. and St. 42, 47, 66, especially 20; Wyatt, "The lively sparks that issue from those eyes"; id. "Through mine eye the stroke from hers did glide"; Peele, Dav. and Beth. 1, 1, 106: "Thy bones faire covering . . . Afar mine eyes with all thy beauties pierst"; Hawes, Past. of Pleas. XVIII: "Your beauty . . . my hart did perce with love"; Spenser, Am. 7, and the Roundelay in Shep. Cal. Aug. vs. 27 sq.: "The glaunce into my heart did glide", and vs. 63: "Shee slewe me with her eye", which comes from Chaucer, Kn. Tale 709: "Ye sleen me with your eyen, Emelye"; cf. too, Barnes, Son. 87; Shakespeare, R. and J. 2, 4: "Stabb'd with a white wench's black eye"; id. As You Like It 5, 2: "Wounded with the eyes of a lady"; Chaucer, Kn. Tale 240: "But I was hurt right now throughout myn yë/Into myn herte"; Lydgate, Temple of Glas 583, may have had this in mind: "For with the stremes of hir eyen clere/I am y-wounded even to the hert"; so id. 815; Gower, Conf. Am. 1, 322 sq. Such passages may have been due to Froissart, L'Espinette Amoureuse 2009 sq.: mon coer . . . est playés/D'un ardant dart qui fu forgiés/D'uns douls vairs yex; cf. id. Paradys d'Amour 492. Later French poetry is full of this conceit; cf. Du Bartas, Sepm. Six. Jour. 523 sq.: ces miroirs de l'esprit¹ . . . par qui (comme à travers deux luisantes verrières)/Ils dardent leurs plus vives lumieres; Desportes, Cleon. 37; Diane 1, 11, 19, 47; Baïf, Am. de Meline, ed. cit. pp. 100, 101-2; Am. de Francine pp. 151, 159; Ronsard, Son. a Cassandre: Le jour qu'un œil sur l' Avril de mon âge,/Tira d'un coup mille traits dans mon flanc; Jodelle, Les Amours 1:

¹ We may see through these "windows of the soul," as Sylvester translates the phrase, back into a distant past when the phrase was understood in its literal sense; cf. Smith, Studies in Honor of Basil L. Gildersleeve, pp. 295 sq.

L'amour de vos beaux yeux la poitrine m'enflamme ; id. Chanson 10. With the lines from Du Bartas, quoted above, cf. Charles d'Orleans, Poeme de la Prison, Ballade 45: Quant le doulx souleil gracieux/De vostre beaulté entrera/Par les fenestres de mes yeulx ; cf. id. Ballades No. 22.

In Italian poetry, also, the conceit is very common ; cf. Tasso, I, Son. 109, 126 ; Lorenzo de' Medici, Son. 45, 72, 91, 93 ; Berni, L'Orl. Innamor. 19, 2: Questo era il colpo maestro e mortale /Che trovava la via per gli occhi al core ; Petrarch I, Son. 103: Dagli occhi vostri uscio 'l colpo mortale ; id. Son. 3: Amor . . . aperta la via per gli occhi al core ; id. Son. 55: I begli occhi ond' i' fui percosso, . . . In ogni parte e più sovra 'l mio fianco ;¹ cf. also Son. 115, Canz. 19. In Dante this "flame of love" takes the form of a "spirit of love", which, however, has the same effect ; cf. Vita Nuova 19: Degli occhi suoi, come ch' ella gli muova, /Escono spirti d'amore² infiammati, /Che fieron gli occhi a qual ch' allor gli guati, /E passan sì che 'l cor ciascun ritrova,—a passage closely imitated by Lorenzo de' Medici, Canz. 91, and which may have inspired Poliziano, Gli Occhi d'Ippolita Leoncina :³ Dagli occhi della Ippolita discende /Cinto di fiamme un angiolel d'amore. Poliziano could have drawn, however, as Dante undoubtedly did, from Guido Cavalcanti (Poeti v. 2, p. 282): Esce dagli occhi suoi, là ond' io ardo /Un gentiletto spirito d'Amore ; cf. id. p. 278 ; Dante, Vita Nuova 26. For the usual form of this conceit in the early poets, cf. Piero delle Vigne (Poeti v. 1, p. 51): Uno possente sguardo /Coralmen' m' ha feruto . . . un dardo che mi passoe lo core mantato ; Rinaldo d'Aquino, ib. p. 219 ; Guido Guinicelli, ib. pp. 108, 110 ; Jacopo da Lentino, ib. pp. 266, 315 ; Simbuono Giudice, ib. v. 2, p. 82.

These early Italian poets evidently drew this doctrine from the French Troubadours, and we find it thus set forth, for exam-

¹ Ronsard may have been imitating this line. Baif, ed. Marty-Laveaux p. 116, translates it: Les beaux yeux qui au cœur me blesserent, . . . mais dans mon gauche flanc bien plus qu'en autre place ; cf. Ingraham, The Sources of Les Amours de J. A. Baif, p. 33.

² For these "spirits of love" and references to them in the Florentine poets, cf. Mott, The System of Courtly Love, p. 122, n. 1. The idea seems to have developed from an ancient theory exploited by Heliod. Aegyp. 3, 7 ; cf. below.

³ Puccianti, op. cit. p. 185.

ple, in Chrétien, Cligés 695 sq.: "The dart of Love . . . passes through the eye without injuring it or causing it pain, enters the heart and there wounds grievously. How? The eye is the mirror¹ of the heart, and through this mirror, without injuring it or breaking it, the flame passes into the heart. . . . As the sun pierces glass without breaking it, so can the heart be reached through the eyes". It seems to be a common impression² that this doctrine was due chiefly to Chrétien; that "the slight traces of it found in earlier writers were developed by him with such subtlety that it became an essential element of the theory of love". Chrétien was by no means the first, however, to develop "a formal doctrine on this subject," for we find the doctrine³ already formally developed, and with just as much subtlety, in ancient literature. The following passages will make this clear; Musaeus 92: κάλλος γὰρ περίπυστον ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικὸς/ὀξύτερον μερό-
πεςσι πέλει πτερόεντος οἴστου/ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο
βολάων/ἔλκος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὁδεύει. This passage is
but a close imitation of Achilles Tatius 1, 4: κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον
τιτρώσκει βέλους, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ. In 5, 13,
Tatius preaches this doctrine with all the subtlety that we find in
Chrétien: ἡ δὲ τῆς θεᾶς ἡδονὴ διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα, τοῖς στέρνοις
ἐγκάθεται· ἔλκουσα δὲ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸ εἶδωλον αἰεὶ, ἐναπομάττεται τῇ τῆς
ψυχῆς κατόπτρῳ, καὶ ἀναπλάττει τὴν μορφήν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή δι'
ἀφανῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρωτικὴν ἐλκομένη καρδίαν, ἐναποσφραγίζει κάτω τὴν
σκιάν; cf. ib. 1, 9: ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντανακλώμενοι, ἀπομάττουσιν
ὡς ἐν κατόπτρῳ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ εἶδωλα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή, δι'

¹ Li iauz . . . c'est li mireors au cœur; the sense seems to demand the translation of 'mireors' by "window", and so Sylvester translated it in the passage from Du Bartas, quoted above. Guinicelli, l. c., evidently understood 'mireors' as 'finestra', for his simile is, Come fa lo trono/Che fer per la finestra della torre. Other poets, however, introduce both 'vetro' and 'specchio'; so Lentino, p. 315, and Giudice l. c.

² Cf. Mott, op. cit. pp. 9, 31, from whom I quote. A similar statement is made by J. H. Hanford, Mod. Lang. Notes 26, 1911, p. 161. Wolff, however, The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, p. 135, notes that the idea is a survival from ancient literature.

³ This doctrine, it may be noted, was used by Christian writers to explain the Virgin birth; cf. Hymn. ad Mariam, Mone, Hymni Lat. Medii Aevi 2, p. 63: sicut vitrum radio/solis penetratur/inde tamen laesio/nulla vitro datur/sic immo subtilius/matre non corrupta/deus dei filius/sua prodit nupta; cf. id. 1, p. 62. They drew, doubtless, from ancient sources.

αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέουσα ἔχει τινὰ μίξιν ἐν ἀποστάσει¹; cf. ib. 6, 6-7. This idea that love flows through the eyes into the heart and the theory of the εἰδωλον go back to Plato; for the former, cf. Crat. 420 A: ἔρωρ δέ, . . . ἐσρεῖ ἔξωθεν καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ῥοή αὕτη τῷ ἔχοντι ἀλλ' ἐπέισακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων; for the latter, cf. Phaedr. 250 A sq. Both occur frequently in the writings of later philosophers and rhetoricians; cf. Ps.-Demosthen. Erot. 13 sq.; Xenoph. Conv. 4, 21; Luc. Am. 2-3; Plut. Moral. 759, 765 sq.; Liban. Descr. Pulchritud. p. 1069 (Reiske v. 4); Himer. Ecl. X, 12; Max. Tyr. XIX, 2. According to Philostratus, Ep. 12, it is through the eyes only that beauty enters the heart, "for the eyes," he goes on, "are not fortified by ramparts of wood and brick as are the citadels of kings, but by the eyelids only, and Love slips quietly and by degrees into the heart, quickly since he is winged, easily since he is naked, without a battle since he is a bowman; and the eyes, since they are the first things to perceive beauty, are all the more readily set on fire". Very similar to this is Aristaen. Ep. 2, 7, where we read that through ears² and eyes Love with his torch and arrows slipped into a maiden's heart; cf. ib. 2, 18. Surely in personifications of this sort we are not very far from the "spirits of love" of the early Italian poets, whatever philosophical interpretation may have been placed upon them,³ and in Heliodor. 3, 7, indeed, love at first sight is explained by the passage of a πνεῦμα, "spirit", through the eyes into the soul. In Apul. Met. 10, 3 (p. 238 H) we again have the idea of a flame which passes through the eye: isti enim tui oculi per meos oculos ad intima delapsi praecordia meis medullis acerrimum commovent incendium. Apuleius seems to be imitating Catul. 64, 91 sq. in his description of the meeting of Ariadne and Theseus: non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit (Ariadne)/lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam/funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis. Catullus in turn is imitating Ap. Rh. 3, 286 sq., who, after describing how Eros wounds

¹ Cf. Rohde, Gr. Roman,² pp. 158 sq.

² Cf. Theophyl. Ep. 26 (H. p. 771). In the Romance of Flamenca (ed. Meyer) 2715 sq. Guillaume complains that he is wounded in two places, through the ears and eyes; per l'aurella e per l'uil/Li pres lo coup don tan mi doil; cf. Shakespeare, R. and J. 2, 4: "Shot through the ear with a love song"; Meleager, A. P. 5, 212: αἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὐασιν ἤχος Ἐρωτος.

³ Cf. Salvadori, La Poesia Giovanile e la Canzone d'Amore di Guido Cavalcanti pp. 64 sq.

Medea with his arrow, thus setting her on fire with love for Jason, adds: ἀντία δ' αἰεὶ/βάλλεν ὑπ' Ἀισονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, καὶ οἱ ἄηντο/στηθέων ἐκ . . . φρένες.

The idea that the eyes are responsible for love occurs frequently in one form or another throughout classic literature. It appears as early, at least, as Hesiod Theog. 910: τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρωσ ἐῖβετο δερκομενάων/λυσιμελῆς, a passage cited by Smyth, *Melic Poets*, p. 196, to illustrate Alkman fr. 36: Ἐρως με δαῦτε Κύπριδος Φέκατι/γλυκὺς κατεῖβων καρδίαν λαίνει. Perhaps Aeschylus Agam. 416 sq. had these ideas in mind when he thus described the loveless state of Menelaus after Helen had fled with Paris: εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν/ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρὶ/ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀηγνίαις/ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα. Cf. Eurip. Hipp. 525 sq.: Ἐρως, Ἐρως, ὃ κατ' ὀμμάτων/στάσεις πόθον,¹ εἰσάγων γλυκεῖαν/ψυχῆς χάριν οὓς ἐπιστρατεύσῃ,/μή μοι ποτε σὺν κακῷ φανείης. Elsewhere, too, Aeschylus speaks expressly of "the bolt² from the eye", cf. Agam. 743, of Helen: μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος/δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος; cf. ib. 239; fr. 238 (Nauck), and Supp. 1004: καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἐπι/πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὀμματος θελκτήριον/τόξευμ' ἔπεμψεν ἡμέρου νικῶμενος; cf. Soph. Ant. 795: νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων/ἡμερος εὐλέκτρον/νύμφας. Eurip. Hec. 442 says of Helen: διὰ καλῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων/. . . Τροίαν εἶλε, and I. A. 583 of Paris, ὅς τ᾽ Ἑλένας/ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισιν/ἔρωτα δέδωκας. All these expressions occur frequently in the Greek Anthology and later rhetorical writings; cf. A. P. 12, 161, 110, 72, 83, 109, 144; 5, 111; Philostr. Imag. 2, 19, 3; Callistr. Descr. 5, 1; 14; Liban. l. c. p. 1071. The Roman poets, on the other hand, with few exceptions (cf. Prop. 4, 8, 55, fulminat illa oculis) are content with the simple statement that "the eyes are leaders in love",³ Prop. 2, 15, 12: cf. Ov. A. A. 3, 510, and Pichon, *Serm. Amat.* s. v. oculus.

Such passages as these I have quoted, and they are by no means exhaustive,⁴ show how old and how prevalent was the idea

¹ Cf. Hesych. 2, p. 751: ὀμμάτειος πόθος διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὄραν ἀλίσκεσθαι ἐρωτι. "ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἑσορᾶν γίνετ' ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν".

² This expression is common in the later rhetoricians; cf. Luc. Am. 6; Alciph. Ep. 3, 1; Callistr. Descr. 7, 2; Liban. p. 1070, 29.

³ Philostr. Ep. 41 calls the eyes ξύμβολοι τοῦ ἐρᾶν; Achil. Tat. 1, 9, φιλίας πρόξενοι; Max. Tyr. 19, 2, ὁδοὶ καλλοῦς; Folquet de Marseille (Bartsch, *Chrestom.*, p. 157, 4) speaks of them as "messengers of the heart".

⁴ A few other examples are given by Lang, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 23, 1908, p. 127.

which is expressed most beautifully, perhaps, by Shakespeare in the song in *M. of V.* 3, 2: "Tell me where is fancy bred/Or in the heart or in the head? . . . It is engender'd in the eyes/With gazing fed". The very age and prevalency of this idea, however, should prevent us from trying to find, as some have done, a definite source for this song; for such attempts cf. *Quarterly Rev.* 134 (1873) pp. 104 sq., where it is argued¹ that Shakespeare is imitating a sonnet of Jacopo da Lentino (*Poeti v.* 1, p. 308); *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, XII, p. 304; *The Nation* (N. Y.) March 30, 1911, p. 315; *ib.* May 4, p. 444, where J. E. De Perott quotes a close parallel from an early Spanish novel and the passage from *Achil. Tat.* (1, 4) cited above. To be compared, also, are a sonnet of Guido Orlando (*Poeti v.* 2, p. 273): "Onde si muove e donde nasce amore? . . . È cagion d'occhi, o è voler di cuore"? Lodge, *Rosalind*, p. 121: "If then . . . love enters at the eyes, harbors in the heart", etc.; Douglas, *Prol. Aen. Bk. IV*: "Lufe is a kyndly passioun, engendryt of heyt/Kyndlyt in the hart, ourspreyng al the cors". For the relation of this idea to the mediaeval debate between the eye and heart, cf. Hanford, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 26, 1911, pp. 161 sq.

In several of the passages from the Greek poets which have just been quoted, it is impossible to decide whether "love" should not be written with a capital,—whether we should not cite them as examples of a conceit which became common later, a conceit which places a personified Love in the maiden's eye, on her cheek, or in her bosom, whence he is often represented as shooting his fiery darts into the lover's heart. The following examples from modern literature will illustrate the nature of this conceit. Shakespeare, *Song in Two Gent. of Ver.* 4, 2: "Love doth to her eyes repair/To help him of his blindness,/And being help'd inhabits there"; Heywood, *A Praise of His Lady*, prettily combines this conceit with one considered above: "In each of her two crystal eyes/Smileth a naked boy; /It would you all in heart suffice/To see that lamp of joy"; Watson, *Hecatomp. Son.* 21: "Venus herselfe doth dwell within her face"; Lodge, *Rosalind* p. 82 (*The Wooing Eclogue*): "By those sweet cheeks where Love encamped lies/To kiss the roses of the springing year"; *id.* p. 70, Rosader's description of *Rosalind*: "Her neck like to a stately tower,/Where Love himself imprisoned lies";

¹ This article anticipates Harris, *Mod. Lang. Notes* 22, 1907, p. 199.

id. Phillis, Son. 13, where Love flies about Phillis' lips and builds his bower in her eyes; cf. id. Rosalynd p. 35: "Love . . . Within my eyes he makes his nest", a line taken apparently either from Petrarch I, Canz. 18, *occhi leggiadri, dov' Amor fa nido*, or from Sannazaro, Arcad. Ecl. 2, *gli occhi, ove s'annida Amore*. Sidney also was very fond of this conceit; cf. As. and St. 12: "Cupid, because thou shin'st in Stella's eyes"; id. 8, Love perches on Stella's face;¹ ib. 11, 20; Barnes, Son. 71, describes his lady's eyes as "two clear springs of Graces; . . . There Graces infinite do bathe and sport"; id. Ode 16; Spenser, F. Q. 2, 3, 25: "Upon her eyelids many Graces sate"; Chaucer, T. and C. 1, 304: "Was ful unwar that love hadde his dwellinge/With-inne the subtile stremes of hir yën". Marlowe, Hero and Leander 1st Sest., varies the conceit: "Cupid . . . imagined Hero was his mother,/And oftentimes into her bosom flew; /About her naked neck his bare arms threw,/And laid his childish head upon her breast,/And, with still panting rock, there took his rest". Marlowe seems to have had in mind Baïf, *Am. de Francine*, ed. cit. p. 128: *Ma dame en un jardin amassoit des fleurettes,² . . . Amour elle trouva, qui versant tiedes pleurs/Seulet contre Venus poussoit plaintes aigrettes. . . . Ce disoit Cupidon, de Venus se plaignant,/Quand de ses belles mains Francine l'empoignant/Le nicha dans son sein. Amour dedans se joue,/Et s'ecrie en ces mots: Ma mere tu n'es plus,/C'est Francine qui l'est*. Baïf may have drawn this idea³ from Marot Ep. 103, who informs us that Amour, through a very natural mistake, addressed his beloved as "ma mere"; for the same theme, cf. Baïf, *Chanson* p. 371; in *Am. de Francine* p. 135, he describes Francine's bosom as *des Amours le trop chaste séjour*. Such passages perhaps inspired Sidney, Arcad. 2, Zelmene's song⁴: "The lively clusters of her

¹ The last few lines of this sonnet, which tell how Love flew into the poet's heart, where he "while some fire-brands he did lay,/Burnt un'wares his wings and cannot fly away", Sidney seems to have borrowed from Prop. 2, 12, 12. Baïf, *Am. de Meline* I, 4, imitates Propertius; cf. Ingraham, op. cit. p. 15; and Propertius is imitating Meleager, A. P. 5, 212.

² In the first part of this poem Baïf imitates Anacreont. fr. 5 (Bergk; = Anth. Plan. 388: *στέφος πλέκων ποθ' εὔρον/ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις ἔρωτα*).

³ In several epigrams in the Gr. Anthology the poets describe their favorites as so like Eros that his mother would have difficulty in distinguishing them; cf. A. P. 12, 75, 76, 77, 78.

⁴ In this "amatorious poem" Cupid is given a seat on every portion of the lady's anatomy.

breasts,/Of Venus' boy the wanton nests"; cf., also, Jonson, *Masques at Court*, 1608, *Hue and Cry After Cupid*¹: "Look all these ladies' eyes/And see if there he not concealed lies! /Or in their bosoms, 'twixt their swelling breasts; /The wag affects to make himself such nests". The last line recalls Sidney, but Jonson may have had in mind also, *Catul.* 55, 12 (as Ellis in his note affirms), where the poet finds his runaway friend hiding in 'roseis papillis' of a certain maid. From Marlowe seems to have drawn Drayton, *Son.* 63: "In whose dear bosom . . . Love/Lays down his quiver that he once did bear: . . . Forsook his mother's lap to sport him there". In French poetry we may note, also, Desportes, *El.* 1, 11: *L'Amour . . . dans vos yeux embusché*, which seems to be a translation of Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177: *κηρύσσω τὸν Ἔρωτα, τὸν ἄγριον. . . ὃς με λήθησας/τοξότα, Ζηνοφίλας ὄμμασι κρυπτόμενος*. Cf. Desportes, *El.* 1, 7: *Yeux, où l'enfant Amour tient son celeste empire*. This same figure occurs in Tasso, *I, Son.* 26: *Stavasi Amor, quasi in suo regno, assiso/Nel seren di due luci ardente*; cf. *id.* *Son.* 126; Guarini (*Puccianti, Antologia* p. 362): *Dov' hai tu sede, Amore/Nel viso di Madonna o nel mio core?* Lorenzo de' Medici, *Son.* 32: *Amor pose /Ne' due begli occhi*; *id.* *Son.* 91; Petrarch *I, Canz.* 18, cited above; cf. *id.* *Son.* 31; Dante *V. N.* 27: *Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore*; Guido Cavalcanti, *Poeti v.* 2, p. 335: *gli occhi, dove Amor si mise*.

In ancient literature we find this conceit chiefly in those writers who were steeped in rhetoric, and we may safely conclude that it was a commonplace current in the rhetorical schools. It occurs in different forms; cf. Musaeus 62: *πολλὰ δ' ἐκ μελίων Χάριτες ῥέον, οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ/τρεῖς Χάριτες ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι' εἰς δὲ τις Ἥροῦς/ὀφθαλμὸς γελῶν ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθήλει*, lines which are thus translated by Marot, *Leand. et Hero*, 118 sq.; *D'elle au surplus surtoient bien apparentes/Graces sans nombre, et toutes differentes./Vray est qu'en tout trois Graces nous sont paincts/Des anciens: mais ce ne sont que faincts,/Veu que d'Hero un chascun œil friant/Multiplioit cent graces en riant*. We find the same play on the number of the Graces in Aristaen. *Ep.* 1, 10, who, like Barnes in the sonnet quoted above, places them in the maiden's eye: *καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι Χάριτες οὐ τρεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδον ἀλλὰ δεκάδων περιεχόρευε δεκάς*;

¹ Cf. Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177; Moschus, *Id.* 1, with Mustard, *A. J. P.* 30, 1909, pp. 277 sq. for modern adaptations.

so in Ep. 1, 1; (cf. Barnes, Son. 95: "Eyes . . . where Graces dance"). In Alciphron, Ep. 3, 1, a girl writes of her lover, "The Graces ply their dances (*ἐνορχεῖσθαι*) on his cheek", and in 3, 65, the same statement is made of the Horae; cf. Luc.¹ Imag. 9: ἡ Χάρις, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσαι ἅμα ὁπόσαι Χάριτες καὶ ὁπόσοι Ἔρωτες περιχορεύοντες: cf. Liban. Descr. Pulchr. p. 1070: ἐπ' ἐκείνο τὸ πρόσωπον περιχορεύον Χάριτες, and Himerius, Or. 1, 19, describes a bride as one with whom the Graces, Venus, and the Horae sport; cf. A. P. 12, 181. The only occurrence of this form of the conceit in classic Latin which I have noted is Catul. 68, 133, who thus writes of Lesbia, lux mea . . . quam circumcursans hinc illinc saepe Cupido/fulgebat. It turns up again, however, in Alcius, Anth. Lat. 1, 2, 714: oculos. . . illic et Venus et leves Amores/atque . . . in medio sedet Voluptas.

Such passages, in turn, are but echoes of the earlier poets; cf. Anacreont. 15 (Bergk 3, p. 307): τρυφεροῦ δ' ἔσω γενείου/περὶ λυγδίνῃ τραχήλῳ/Χάριτες πέτουντο πᾶσαι. Ap. Rh. 3, 1017: ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρήματος Ἀισονίδαο/στράπτειν Ἔρως ἠδεῖαν ἀπο φλόγα,² with which cf. A. P. 5, 26: ἡ ῥά γε ταύταις/θριξὶ συνοικήσει καὶ πολίῃσιν Ἔρως. Theocr. 18, 37, says of Helen,³ Ἑλένα, τὰς πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἡμεροὶ ἐντι, words which recall the passages quoted above (p. 139) from Soph. Ant. 795 and Aeschyl. Supp. 1004; we may compare, too, Eurip. Bacch. 235, where Dionysus is described: ξανθοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν εὐόμοις κομῶν/οἶνωπότ, ὅσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων. Pindar, Nem. 8, 1 sq.: ὦρα πότνια, κᾶρυξ Ἀφροδίτας ἀμβροσιῶν φιλοτάτων,/ἅτ' ἐπαρθενηῖοις παίδων τ' ἐφίξοισα γλεφάροις. Ibycus, fr. 2, quoted above, p. 129. Athen. 589 D cites a line from Plato, in verses to a certain Archaeonassa, which is rather in the vein of the Alexandrian poets, ἥς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων πικρὸς ἔπειστιν Ἔρως.

¹ This passage from Lucian is echoed by Joannes Secundus, Basium 16: da tot basia quot dedit/vati multivolo Lesbia, quot tulit: / quot blandae Veneres quotque Cupidines/et labella pererrant/et genas roseas tuas. He has introduced, of course, material from other sources.

² It is interesting to compare with such passages Herondas, fr. 8 (Bergk 2, p. 511) γύναι, τὰ λευκὰ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαμβλύνει/τὸν νοῦν. With the line from A. P., cf. Lodge, Rosalynd p. 26: "In his hairs it seemed Love had laid himself in ambush".

³ Cf. Philostr. Im. 2, 9, 5: ὁπαδὸς δ' ἔρωτος ἡμερος οὕτω τι ἐπικέχνηται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. Chapman, Hero and Leander, 5th Sest.: "Love paints his longings in sweet virgins' eyes".

The other form of this conceit, that which places Cupid the archer or the soldier in the maiden's eye, or on her cheek, is also very common. Cf. Watson, *Hecatomp.* 24: "Cupido...shotte a shaft throughout her cristal eyes,/Wherewith he cleft in twaine my yielding heart"; Barnes, *Son.* 26: "Love's golden darts take aim from her bright eyes";¹ Lodge, *Phillis*, *Son.* 13: "And if I look the boy will lower,/And from their orbs shoot shafts divine". Spenser, *Am.* 16, puts whole "legions of loves" in his lady's eyes, who dart "their deadly arrowes fyry bright,/At every beholder passing by"; cf. Desportes, *Diane* 2, 61: *Front de marbre vivant, table claire et polie/Où les petites Amours vont aiguisant leurs dars*; Baïf, *Am. de Meline* (ed. Marty-Laveaux, p. 56): *Montre ces gentes fossêtes/D'où mille ardentes sagètes/Saillent au cœur tout épris/De qui te voit quand tu ris*;² Jodelle, *Son.* 28; *Helas! je le (Amour) sçay bien, je l'ay veu en ta face/Decoher mille traictes de tes yeux en mon cœur*; cf., also, Desportes, *Am. d'Hipp.* 19, and, from the earlier poets, Froissart, *Paradys d'Amour* 492: *Cupido... par l'œil la fleche ens ou coer met*. The French poets may have borrowed this conceit from Italian poets; cf. Ariosto *Orl. Fur.* 7, 12, in his description of Alcina: *duo negri occhi... Intorno cui par ch' Amor scherzi e voli/E ch' indi tutta la faretra scarchi,/E che visibilmente i cori involi*: Petrarch, *I, Son.* 112: *I' vidi Amor, ch' e begli occhi volgea;... il vidi, e l'arco che tendea*; Meo *Abbracciavacca*, *Poeti v.* 2, p. 17: *Cogli occhi, Amor, dolci saette m'archi,/Che m'han passato 'l cor*.

Two passages in ancient poetry seem to have been the main source for this form of the conceit, the epigram of Meleager, *A. P.* 5, 177, quoted above, p. 142, and Anacreont. fr. 26 A (Bergk 3, p. 312): *οὐχ ἵππος ὠλεσέν με/οὐ πεζὸς οὐχὶ νῆες/στρατὸς δὲ καινὸς*

¹In *Son.* 94, Barnes describes his lady's eye as "Love's Quiver"; cf. Sylvester's tr. of Du Bartas, *op. cit.* 523 sq., where the eyes are styled "these Cupid's quivers". Baïf, *Am. de Meline* (ed. de Fouquières, p. 97) makes *Amour* say, *mon carcois ses yeux*, and cf. Scève, cited above, p. 133: *enfant... va vers madame/Qui de ses yeux tes fleches refera*. So Liban. *Descr. Pulchr.* p. 1070, 29, uses *βελοθήκη* in connection with the girl's eyes.

²This conceit does not occur in the Latin poem, *Incerti ad Lydiam* (in Wernsdorff, *P. L. M.* 3, p. 398), of which this poem of Baïf is an imitation; cf. Ingraham, *op. cit.* p. 22.

ἄλλος/ἀπ' ὀμμάτων με βάλλον.¹ We may compare, also, Strato, A. P. 12, 181, who places "five times ten graces" on his lady's face and arms them all with the bow; so in Liban. l. c. p. 1069 and Himer. Or. 1, 19 Eros shoots his arrows from the maiden's eyes. Here again these rhetoricians seem to have drawn from classic poetry, for a fragment of Sophocles runs (fr. 162 N.) ὀμμάτων ἀπο/λόγχαρ ἦσιν. On the other hand the fine line of Horace, Od. 4, 13, 6, ille (Cupido) virentis et/doctae psallere Chiaie/pulchris excubat in genis, which is, apparently, a translation of Soph. Ant. 783: "Ἔρως . . . ὅς ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις," seems to have been seldom imitated; it may have inspired Lodge, Rosalynd p. 82: "By those sweet cheekes where Love encamped lyes". The idea could have been suggested to Sophocles by Pind. Nem. 8, 1, quoted above.³ We are far removed from the simple beauty of these two passages in such a sonnet as Sidney, As. and St. 36: "Stella . . . long since through my long battred⁴ eyes,/Whole armies of thy beauties entred in./And there long since Love thy lieutenant lies,/My forces raz'd, thy banners rais'd within". After all, however, this amplifies but little such a passage as that quoted above (p. 138) from Philostr. Ep. 12, or those in which a personified Love, full armed with torch, bow and arrows, slips into the lover's heart.⁵ We may compare, too, the rather frequent idea that the lover is captured by Cupid, generally by means of the loved one's eyes; cf. Meleager A. P. 12, 101: τόν με πόθοις ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ στέρνοισι Μυῖσκος/ὄμμασι τοξεύσας, τοῦτ' ἐβόησεν ἔπος· τὸν θρασὺν εἶλον ἐγὼ· τὸ δ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κείνο φρύαγμα/σκηπτροφόρου σοφίας ἠνίδε ποσσὶ πατῶ. These lines have been closely imitated by Prop. 1, 1, 1 sq.: Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis, etc.; cf. Aristaen. Ep. 1, 1; Liban. l. c.

¹ Ronsard, Odes Retranchées, Œuvres Choiesies, ed. Voizerd, p. 192, may have had this passage in mind, although he changes the figure: Qui donc a perdu ma franchise? / Un nouveau scadron furieux / D' amoureux, armé de beaux yeux / De ma dame a causé ma prise.

² Jebb, in his note, cf. Shakespeare, R. and J. 5, 3: "Beauty's ensign yet / Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks".

³ Cf. also, Ibycus. fr. 5 and Hes. Scut. Herc. 7: τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρήθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἀπὸ κυανέων/τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

⁴ Cf. Barnes, Madr. 10: "Thou scaled my fort, blind captain of Conceit! / But you, sweet Mistress, entered at the breach".

⁵ Cf. above, p. 138. So in Moschus 1, 17, Love encamps in the heart; cf. A. P. 5, 268; Prop. 2, 12, 13 sq.

p. 1070. The weapons of Cupid, the "whole armies of beauties" referred to by Sidney, are enumerated in a Greek poem of Claudian, *Gigantomach.* 50 sq. (Koch p. 312): *εἶχε γὰρ αὐτὴ/πλέγμα κόρυν, δόρυ μαζόν, ὀφρῶν βέλος, ἀσπίδα κάλλος, / ὅπλα μῆλη, θέλγητρον ἐν ἄλγεσιν.* It is interesting to note that a very similar idea turns up in Chrétien, *Cligés* 740 sq.; Alexander has been pierced to the heart by Love's arrow, and he proceeds to describe it. The pennon is made of his lady's golden tresses, the rest is of her forehead, eyes, nose, etc.; cf. also Chapman, *Hero and Leander* 5th Sest.: "Love calls to war,/Sighs his alarms,/Lips his swords are,/The field his arms."

The last topic to which, in this paper, I wish to call attention, may be introduced by a line from the tragic poet Phrynichus:¹ *λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῆσι φῶς ἔρωτος*,—a line which received the approbation of Sophocles, and which affords us, as far as we can judge, the first example of the use of the word *πορφύρεος* to describe the bright blush on the cheek of youth. Simonides, fr. 72, uses this same adjective to describe a maiden's lips: *πορφυρέου/ἀπὸ στόματος λεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος.* I have not noticed many imitations of these two passages in later Greek literature; Bion, 2, 15 sq. uses the verb *πορφύρω* to describe the youthful bloom on Achilles' cheeks as he hides among the girls; Lucian, *Am.* 41 sq., refers to women who paint their cheeks *ἵνα τὴν ὑπέρλευκον αὐτῶν καὶ πῖονα χροιάν τὸ πορφυροῦν ἄνθος ἐπιφοινίξῃ*; cf. *Achil. Tat.* 1, 4; *Quint. Smyr.* 14, 47, uses the same word to describe the blush which rises on Helen's cheek, and Rufinus, *A. P.* 5, 48 (the only example I have noted in the *Anthology*) thus describes his lady's mouth: *στόμα πορφυρέης τερπνότερον κάλυκος.* In Latin poetry, on the other hand, from the classical period to the Middle Ages, the kindred word *purpureus*² is very often used to describe the redness of cheeks and lips. With the line from Simonides, cf. *Catul.* 45, 12: *illo purpureo ore saviata*;³ with Bion, l. c. cf. *Stat. Achil.* 1, 161, of Achilles: *dulcis adhuc visu, niveo natat ignis in*

¹ *Ap.* *Athen.* 603 E; cf. *Plut. Mor.* 760 D, both cited by Jebb in his note on *Soph. Ant.* 782.

² For the use of this word in the Latin elegiac poets, cf. Pichon, *op. cit.* s. v. *purpureus*. *Aphrodite* is called *πορφυρῇ* by *Anacr.* fr. 2 (*Bergk* 3, p. 253) and *Amor purpureus* by *Ov. Am.* 2, 1, 38, 9, 34; cf. *Rem. Am.* 701.

³ *Catullus* is imitated by *Joannes Secundus, Basium* 2, 11: *tunc me nec Cereris nec amici cura Lyaei/... tuo de purpureo divelleret ore*; cf. *Bas.* 18, 7.

ore/purpureus; with the fragment of Phrynichus, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 590: *lumenque iuventae purpureum*; cf., further, Hor. O. 3, 3, 12, imitated by Mart. 8, 65, 4; Ov. Am. 3, 14, 23; Stat. Silv. 2, 1, 41; Theb. 1, 537; 2, 231; 7, 148; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 1, 270; Apul. (?) Anth. Lat. 1, 2, 712; Auson. Parent. 23, 19; Anth. Lat. 1, 217; Arborius, ad Nympham 90; Incerti ad Lydiam 12; and, finally, in the Ars Vers. of Mathieu de Vendôme, p. 26, 19, we meet again the familiar phrasing, *Non hospes colit ora color, ne purpura vultus/linguescat niveo disputat ore rubor*.

The use of cognate words in modern languages to describe the redness of cheeks and lips seems to be due to direct translation from the Greek or Latin, principally the latter. Thus Ariosto, Son. 14: *le odorate rose/Delle purpuree labbra*; Voltaire, Zadig 13: *Ses joues animées de la plus belle pourpre*; Barnes, Madr. 18: "My priceless rosebud veils his purple leaves"; id. Son. 45; (cf. Nemesian. Ecl. 2, 48, *purpureaeque rosae*); cf., also, the famous line of Gray, Progress of Poesy 1, 3, 16: *O'er her warm cheek and rising bosom move/The bloom of young desire and purple light¹ of love*".

The favorite conceit employed to describe this red and white complexion which is characteristic of the literary beauty is that employed by Watson in his catalogue: "On either cheek a Rose and Lillie lies"; Campion (Ayres, 4, 7): "There is a garden in her face,/Where roses and white lillies grow"; Shakespeare, Two Gent. 4, 4: "The air hath starved the roses in her cheeks,/And pinch'd the lily tincture of her face"; cf. id. M. N. D. 1, 1, 129; L. L. L. 5, 2; M. for M. 1, 4; Rape of Lucrece St. 11: "This silent war of lilies and of roses . . . in her fair face's field", with which cf. Kyd, Soliman and Pers. 4, 1, 82: "Cheeks where the rose and lily are in combat"; Passionate Pilgrim VII: "A lily pale with damask dye to grace her"; Barnes, Od. 10: "In her clear cheeks she closes/Sweet damask roses! /In her neck white lilies"; id. Son. 26; 45-6; Eleg. 1; Od. 5, 16; Greene, James IV, 4, 2: "Fair as the lilies, red as roses"; id. Doron's Description of Samela: "Her cheeks like rose and lily yield forth gleams"; Gascoign,

¹Cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 590, quoted above; the expression occurs in Sil. Ital. 7, 195, of Bacchus: *inde nitentem lumine purpureo frontem cinxere corymbi*; cf. Mart. Cap. 2, 114; in an inscription in Buecheler-Riese, Carm. Ep. 1431, it is said of a boy, *purpureusque nitor, quam brevis, evanuit*.

Dan Bartholemew: "Upon her cheeks the lily and the rose/
Did entremeete with equal change of hewe"; Skelton, Garland
of Laurel 883: "The enbuddid blossoms of roses red of hew/
With lilyes whyte your beautie dothe renewe"; Lydgate, Troy
Book 2, 3668, description of Helen: "evene ennwed with quik-
nes of colour/Of the rose and the lyllie flour"; ib. 4, 584; 1,
1960; Temple of Glas 276; Chaucer, Kn. Tale 177: Emelye is
fairer "than is the lilie upon his stalke grene: . . . with the rose
colour stroof hir hewe"; id. Phis. Tale 32; in French poetry, cf.
Desportes, Diane 1, 31: Que les lys blanchissans de son sein me
plaisoient! /Que de fleurs, . . . que de roses vermeilles; ib.
Cleonice 13; Baif, Ecl. (B. de Fouquières, p. 212): Marion, ma
douceur, plus fraiche que la rose/Plus blanche que du lis la fleur
de frais éclore; Guil. de Machault, Rondeau (Crepet 1, p. 324):
Blanche com lys, plus que rose vermeille; Arnaut von Marueil
(Mahn, Werke d. Troubadours 1, p. 153); e'l vostre fron pus
blanc que lis . . . la fassa fresca de colors/Blanca, vermelha pus
que flors;¹ Chrétien, Cligés 817: cler vis/Ou la rose cuevre le
lis; cf. Erec et Enid. 421 sq. It will be noticed that the English
and French sonneteers furnish few examples of the combination
of the lily and the rose to describe the red and white complexion
of their beloved, although the comparison of the complexion to
the rose is common enough. This may be due to the fact that
the combination occurs very rarely in the Italian sonneteers; I
have noticed no examples either in Medici or in Petrarch, and
in the poets of the 13th cen. only Guido Guinicelli, Poeti, 1, p.
111: Io vo' del ver la mia donna lodare,/E rassembrarla alla
rosa ed al giglio; cf. Dante da Maiano, Poeti, 2, p. 457: Rosa e
giglio e fiore aloroso/Perchè ancidete lo vostro servente? Nor
is it common elsewhere; we may note Boccaccio, Il Teseide 12,
58: Le guance . . . eran dilicate e graziose,/Bianche e vermiglie,
non d'altra mistura/Che in tra gigli le vermiglie rose; Boiardo,
Orl. Innam. I, 1, 21; Donzella . . . la qual sembrava mattutina
stella/E giglio d'oro² e rosa di verziere; it occurs in a poem of

¹Cf. Fierabras 2007: La car . . . blanche comme flours en esté,/La face
vermellete comme rose de pré; Raoul de Cambrai, 3661: Blanche char ot
comme flors espanie,/Face vermeille con rose coulurie; Roman de Berte 789:
Vermeille ert comme rose, blanche com flours de lis. Other flowers are also
mentioned in old French poetry; cf. Voigt, op. cit. pp. 32-3.

²Panizzi, in his edition of Boiardo, reads giglio d'orto.

the 15th cen., *Jesus Maria*, printed by Ancona, *Poesia Populare Ital.* p. 442: O giglio fra le rose . . . tu se' più bella che non fu Elena. In Ariosto, *O. F.* 7, 11, in the description of Alcina, *ligustri* are substituted for *gigli*; *Spargeasi per la guancia delicata/Misto color di rosa e di ligustri*; so in Tasso I, *Son.* 400: duo begli occhi illustri/E tra rose vermiglie e bei *ligustri*, and in Sannazaro, *Arcad. Ecl.* 2: *Phyllida* mia più che i *ligustri* bianca,/ Più vermiglia che 'l prato a mezzo Aprile. This comparison is taken directly from Ovid; cf. *Met.* 13, 789: *candidior folio nivei, Galatea, ligustri/Floridior pratis*, (i. e. of roses; cf. *Aristaen. Ep.* 1, 10; *Mus.* 60). Ovid, *Am.* 2, 5, 34, also gives us an example of *lilia* combined with *rosae*: *conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor,/ . . . Quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae*, (cf. Greene, quoted above). The combination is rare in ancient literature; I have noticed no examples in early Greek, although the skin is spoken of as "lily-white", *χρόα λειριόεντα*, as far back as Homer, *Il.* 13, 830. Vergil makes use of the comparison in *Aen.* 12, 68: *mixta rubent ubi lilia multa/alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores*; *Nemesian. Ecl.* 2, 47; at tu si venias et candida *lilia* fient/*purpureaeque rosae*; *Claud. (?) Epithal. Laur.* (Koch p. 302) 31: *pulchro formosa colore./Lilia ceu niteant rutilis commixta rosetis,/Sic rubor et candor pingunt tibi florida vultus*; *Arboreus*, in his poem ad *Nympham* 43 sq., makes use of both *lilia* and *ligustra*: *alba ligustra tuae nequeunt accedere laudi,/fixaque cespitibus lilia laude premis;/nulla tuos possunt aequare rosaria vultus*; *Auson. Id.* 7, on the picture of *Bissula*: *ergo age, pictor,/puniceas confunde rosas et lilia misce*. The combination turns up in the *Carm. Bur.* 40: *certant nivi . . . pectus, mentum, colla, gene:/sed ne candore nimio/evanescat in pallorem,/precastigat hunc candorem/rosam maritans lilio/prudentior Natura*; *ib.* 136, 3: *rosa rubicundior,/lilio candidior*; so in later Greek poetry; cf. *Nonn.* 15, 224; *Leo Magister*, 5, 67 (*Bergk* 3, p. 362).

Another combination employed to describe the complexion, which, in spite of its beauty, is not common, is that of roses and snow.¹ Thus. *Ov. Am.* 3, 3, 5: *candida candorem roseo suffusa rubore/ante fuit: niveo lucet in ore rubor*; this seems to be an echo of Bion's description of Achilles, *Id.* 2, 18: *καὶ γὰρ*

¹ More usually the complexion is described simply as a mixture of red and snowy white; cf. *A. P.* 5, 259; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 20; *Achil.* 1, 161; *Sen. Med.* 99; *Claud. de Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 265.

ἴσον τήναις θηλύνετο καὶ τόσον ἄνθος/χιονέαις πόρφυρε παρήσι; cf. Musaeus 58: ἄκρα δὲ χιονέων φοινίσσεται κύκλα παρειῶν/ὥς ῥόδον ἐκ καλύκων διδυμόχροον, thus translated by Marot, Leand. et Hero 107: Car sur le hault des joues paroissoient/Deux cercles ronds, qui un peu rougissoient/Comme le fons d'une rose nayfve,/Méslé de blanche et rouge couleur vive. In the Greek Anthology I have noticed only Rufinus, A. P. 5, 35: τῆς δὲ διαιρομένης φοινίσσεται χιονή σάρξ,/πορφυρέοιο ῥόδου μᾶλλον ἐρυθροτέρῃ. The conceit also occurs in later Latin poetry; cf. Marbodius (Migne, Patr. Lat. 17, 1655): vultum . . . plus nive candentem, plus quam rosa verna rubentem; Carm. Bur. 132, 2: facies est nivea,/miranda decore,/os eius subfunditur/roseo rubore.

Very rare, too, is the use of the comparison employed by Prop. 2, 3, 9: facies candida, . . . lilia non domina sint magis alba mea; . . . utque rosae puro lacte natant folia, with which cf. Ennius, Ann. 1, 238 (Baehrens F. P. R. p. 92): erubuit mulier ceu lacte et purpura mixta; cf. Anacreont. 15 (Bergk 3, p. 306): γράφε ῥῖνα καὶ παρειάς/ῥόδα τῷ γάλακτι μίξας. Achil. Tat. 5, 13: ἦν δὲ τῷ ὄντι καλή, καὶ γάλακτι μὲν ἂν εἶπες αὐτῆς τὸ πρόσωπον κεχρίσθαι, ῥόδον δ' ἐμπεφυτεῦσθαι ταῖς παρειαῖς.

Another conceit which has found some favor seems to have been suggested by an epigram of Plato, Anth. Plan. 210: ἄλσος δ' ὥς ἰκόμεσθα βαθύσκιον, εὐρομεν ἔνδον/πορφυρέοις μήλοισιν ἑοικότα παῖδα Κυθήρης. This is imitated by Theocr. 7, 117: ὦ μάλοισιν Ἐρωτες ἐρευθομένοισιν ὁμοῖοι/βάλλετέ μοι τόξοισι τὸν ἱμεροῖντα Φιλῖνον, and Theocritus is imitated by Tennyson, The Islet, "a bevy of Erores apple-cheek'd". In Anacreont. 16 (Bergk l. c.), the blush on the cheek is expressly compared to the redness of the apple: χροῖν δ' ὅποια μήλον/ῥοδέην ποιεῖ παρειήν. So Long. Past. 1, 24: ὁ δὲ μῆλ' τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ὅτι λευκὸν καὶ ἐνερευθεῖς ἦν. In Latin poetry, cf. Tibul. 3, 4, 34: candor erat qualem praefert . . . color in niveo corpore purpureus,/ . . . et cum contexunt amarantis alba puellae/lilia et autumnio candida mala rubent; Ov. M. 4, 331, of Salmacis: pueri rubor ora notavit: / . . . hic color aprica pendentibus arbore pomis,/aut ebori tincto est;¹ id. M. 3, 483. Cheeks are called "apples" by Luc. Im. 6; cf. Theocr. 26, 1: ἃ μαλοπάρητος Ἀγαυά.

¹ This episode has been treated by Baif, Salmici, (ed. cit. p. 40); he renders these lines, une honte naïve/Les joues du garçon peignent de couleur vive, . . . Une telle couleur sur les pommes éclatte/Qu' à demy le soleil a teint en ecarlatte.

The appearance of these conceits in modern literature is only sporadic. Propertius has been directly imitated by Joannes Secundus, Ode 11, 9: *ut rubra puro lacte natans rosa/serpebat albas purpura per genas*, and by Desportes, Angelique, in the description of Medor: *il eut le teint de lys et d'œillets mis ensemble./Ou comme la couleur d'une rose qui tremble./Nageant tout lentement dessus du lait caillé*. Cf., also, Sannazaro, Arcad. Ecl. 2: *Tirrhena mia, il cui colore agguaglia/Le matutine rose e 'l puro latte*; Lodge, Phillis, Son. 7: "Ah, roses, love's faire roses, do not languish,/Blush through the milk-white vaile that holdes you covered". The combination of roses and snow occurs in Petrarch I, Son. 101: *E le rose vermiglie infra la neve/Mover dall' ora*; id. Son. 114: *O rose sparse in dolce falda/Di viva neve*. Cf. Desportes, Cleonice, Son. 13: *Un propos qui les cœurs à son gré va tournant/Neige, ébene, coral, lis et rose vermeilles*; Callisto and Meliboea (Dodsley-Hazlitt, I, p. 62): "Her skin of whiteness endarketh the snow,/With rose-colour ennewed". The comparison of the complexion to rosy apples appears in Sidney, Arcad. 2, Zalmane's Song: "Her cheeks—like the fresh Queene-apples side/Blushing at sight of Phoebus pride"; in Spenser, Epithal. 173: "Her cheekes like apples which the sun hath rudded"; in Chaucer, The Rom. of the Rose 820, of Mirthe: "As round as appel was his face/Ful rody and white in every place", a close translation of the original, vs. 803: *La face avoit com une pomme/Vermoille et blanche tout entour*.

It is hardly necessary to add that the simple comparison of the lady's skin to the rose, lily, snow, and milk is a commonplace both in modern and ancient literature; for extreme examples of such comparisons, cf. Jonson, The Devil is an Ass, 2, 6 (The Triumph of Charis); Lodge, Rosalynd, p. 30; Browne, Britannia's Past. IV; Barnes, Odes Past. Canz. 3; Desportes, Cleon. Son. 13; Roman de la Rose 527 sq.; 1004; Chrétien, Ivain 1482; Cligés 815; Erec et Enide 422 sq.; Ariosto Son. 28; and in the ancient poets such passages as Mart. 5, 37; Ov. M. 13, 789 sq.; Hor. O. 2, 4, 3, 1, 19, 5, with Shorey's notes; Theocr. 11, 20, with the imitations cited by Mustard, A. J. P. 30, 1909, p. 263.

I may repeat in closing that I have not tried to be exhaustive in the matter of examples, or to show direct borrowing from one writer by another. My aim has been rather to quote these

examples as evidence of the fact that there was a literary tradition which owed its origin to Greek literature, and which has lasted without a break down to modern times; that the presence in late rhetorical writers of the formulae which were a part of this tradition is proof that the rhetorical schools¹ were one great agency in the preservation and propagation of this tradition, and, finally, that he who would understand aright the beginnings of modern literature, must pay heed, not to any two or three Latin poets only whose works may have been known during the Middle Ages, but to the entire classical tradition of which they represent but a very small part.

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¹ I give some examples of this in *Modern Language Notes*, Dec. 1912, pp. 233 sq.

II.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF HOMERIC METRE.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXIII 425.]

Lengthening of a syllable containing a short vowel occurs before an initial combination of mute and liquid only under the following circumstances: 1) in the arsis; 2) in word groups;¹ 3) in the first (48 times) and second (16 times) theses. On the other hand such a syllable remains short 604 times (according to Ehrlich, KZ. 40, 391), and of course all of these instances are in the thesis. In these facts Solmsen believes that there is a parallelism with the treatment of initial digamma, and he offers for them the following interpretation. Mutes being less sonorous than liquids the division of the syllables will fall on the principle of sonority syllables before the group of sounds, and hence in the normal pronunciation the preceding syllable will remain short. The lengthening is the exceptional thing and the examples of it are to be explained: 1) as due to the more forceful utterance of the arsis; 2) as coming "in Wahrheit unter die Kategorie des Inlauts nicht des Anlauts"; 3) as due to the special privileges of the first two feet, cf. Rh. M. 60, 492.

In the first place the theory breaks down when applied to the combination of aspirate mute and liquid. Sommer, p. 187 f., in explaining the absence of short syllables before ξ ψ posits for these groups a pronunciation *kʰs pʰs*, in which the minimum of sonority occurs in the aspiration, with the consequence that the first consonant must go with the preceding syllable which accordingly cannot be short. The reasoning is correct but equally applicable to θρ χρ before which short syllables actually remain at times unlengthened, examples in Ehrlich's lists. Secondly lengthening is not found in all the word groups which really belong under the Kategorie des Inlauts; thus τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης

¹ Here may be classed Ω 557, ρ 573, cf. Sommer, p. 171.

(ν 92), εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον (ν 355), μέλι χλωρόν (κ 234), τὰ δὲ δράγματα (Λ 69), Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε (Θ 479), Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ κράνα (θ 92) to cite only a few of the examples which lie nearest at hand. Finally the theory is directly contradicted by certain instances of metrical lengthening. For if *ἀνέμοιο πνοιῇσι *μένος τε πνέοντες had been possible combinations there would have been no reason for the forms πνοιῇσι, πνέοντες which presuppose as Solmsen rightly observed p. 113 that "die dem anlautenden πν vorangehende silbe notwendig lang war".

We must start therefore with a pronunciation in which the preceding syllable is invariably lengthened, and the end of the development (however we conceive it phonetically) is the Attic pronunciation in which the preceding syllable remains short. The beginning of the change is as old as the oldest parts of the Iliad, and its spread is reflected by the increase of the 'neglect of position' both in quantity and in kind in the later parts of the Iliad and in the Odyssey. In principle it affects alike both medial and initial combinations of these sounds, though that the examples of the latter are more frequent can be readily understood in view of the imitative nature of the language of the later epic. In the oldest parts of the Iliad the new pronunciation presents itself as a license which permits the use of words which could not be employed otherwise without recourse to the other license of metrical lengthening. It is confined also in the main to words which the poet cannot well avoid using. As such I regard the proper names Κλυταιμνήστρης (Λ 113), Κρονίων (Λ 406, P 441), Ἑκτορι Πριαμίδῃ (N 40), Ἑκτορα Πριαμίδην (Ξ 375, P 503), under the influence of which stands καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο (H 250); almost like a proper name is μοῖρα κραταῖη (Π 853, Υ 477); while words like ἀμφιβρότης (B 389), βραχίονα -νος (N 529, 532), πρόσωπον (Σ 24), πρὸς ἀλλήλους -ας (Π 101, 768), προσηύδα (Α 201, etc.), could hardly have been avoided, although κράνειαν (Π 767) seems a matter of convenience rather than necessity. Somewhat freer is the use after the caesura, where the absence of the lengthening is justified phonetically by the pause:

Λ 553, 571, N 134	υ / θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
Ξ 403	υ / πρὸς ἰθὺ οἱ, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε
Ο 142	υ / θρόνῳ ἐνι θούρον Ἄρηι
Ρ 524	υ / κραδαινόμενον λίε γνῖα
Ν 799	υ / πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα

Entirely without parallel in this part of the poem is A 97 οὐδ' ὃ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσσει which I should regard as corrupt. And in this connection I may recall that two instances of the rewriting of a line with disregard of digamma have yielded 'neglect of position' before mute and liquid: Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς λέχος becoming Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὄν λέχος and Φεῖπε δ' ἄρ' ὀχθήσας πρὸς Φὸν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν becoming ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὄν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. I shall not attempt to trace in detail how freer and freer use is made of this license, but shall be content to cite the instances of the extremes of freedom, and let the age of the passages in which they are found speak for themselves. Words in which the short scansion is not necessary: σχετλίη Γ 414, φαρέτρης Θ 323, ἀβρότη Ξ 78, Ὀτρυντῆι Υ 384, Ὀτρυντεῖδην -η Υ 383, 389, Πάτροκλε Τ 287, προσέπλαξε λ 583, προσέκλινε φ 138, 165, ἐκλίθη τ 470, πατρός (?) Ζ 479. The instances in Ehrlich's second table (words not beginning with an iambus) apart from the examples explained above occur in the following passages: Δ 329, Ε 462, Θ 479, Ι 382, Λ 69, 697, Μ 95, Σ 122, Υ 121, Φ 179, Ψ 186, γ 320, δ 127, ζ 308, θ 92, κ 234, λ 527, μ 99, 215, ν 324, ξ 334, 529, ρ 275, 597; τ 291, υ 92, 355, ψ 106.

Later Solmsen discovered that the limitations which apply to the lengthening of a syllable before the initial combination of a mute and liquid, apply also to the lengthening before any combination of initial consonants. The results were published in his article "Die metrischen Wirkungen anlautender Consonantengruppen bei Homer und Hesiod" which appeared in the Rh. M. 60, 492 ff. From it we can see that the instances of position lengthening are again confined to the arsis, to word groups, and to the first (39 times) or second (15 times) thesis. But the instances in which a syllable is employed as short before these combinations are far less frequent than is the case before mute and liquid. Of them there are only 27 examples and these are confined to the words Σκάμανδρος, -ιος, Ζάκυνθος, Ζέλεια, σκέπαρνον.¹ Solmsen's explanation is that in the normal pronunciation the

¹ Sommer, p. 180, in arguing against Ehrlich's explanation of the 'neglect of position' before mute and liquid as a license permitted before words beginning with an iambus, regards these examples as such and adds "Ein schroffer Kontrast nach Zahl und Charakter der Belege ist kaum denkbar". The force of the remark is greatly broken, when one considers as above the

preceding syllable is affected too much by the following consonant group to permit its being used as short unless the constitution of the following words imperatively demands such treatment; while on the other hand it is not fully lengthened, and consequently can serve as long only when aided by the force of the arsis or by the special privileges of the first two feet.

In the meantime Sommer had been studying the cases in which position is made by the final consonant of one word and the initial consonant of the next. These too proved to be confined within the same limits, that is, they occur in the arsis, in word groups, and in the first (127 times) or in the second (20 times) thesis—if we disregard a sporadic example in the thesis of the fourth foot. Examples of a syllable remaining short under such conditions are entirely lacking. For the facts Sommer offers the following explanation. The first syllable of a word like ἀνράξιον is long because it consists of vowel + consonant + the time required for the transition movements between *n* and *l*. But in a combination -αν τα- the break between the words causes the first syllable to be felt as comprising merely the vowel and the consonant. The third element, the time of the transition movements, falls away, and short as this is, it prevents the syllable being used as the equivalent of a long vowel, although it remains (thanks to the addition of the consonant) too long to serve as the equivalent of a short vowel. In the case of word groups the psychological unity of the group bridges over the gap, and physiological factors—increased force of articulation—do the same in the arsis and in the first and second theses.

In the last point we have the most important difference between Sommer and Solmsen. The latter regarded the lines which showed lengthening in the first thesis as στίχοι λαγαροί, and assumed a similar license for the second foot. Sommer on the contrary offers a physiological explanation, and this involves him in a new difficulty. If the beginning of the line is really uttered with such force as to produce an 'abnormal' lengthening in the

beginning of the license, and not the state to which it finally spread. Besides, in the one case the liberty taken is an out-and-out violation of the normal pronunciation, while in the other case it was supported by an increasing tendency to pronounce in such a fashion, so that what had been at first a license finally ceased to be one.

two first theses, we should not find lines in which the conditions for this lengthening are fulfilled, and yet the lengthening is not made. Such lines however occur in abundance τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης, αὐτὸς (F)εκών; if the explanation given is the true one, it ought to be possible to find some varying condition(s), on account of which these lines are uttered with less force. Sommer—who is of course aware of the existence of these examples—has not made any attempt to show this, and there is not as far as I can see the slightest prospect that such an attempt would prove successful. Sommer's view is represented by the note to p 171: "Auch in der 1. und 2. Senkung ist die Langmessung vor F nur Lizenz, nicht Zwang", but in combination with his explanation of the cause of the long scansion here, I can see in this only the assumption that the same cause under the same conditions can produce different effects. Solmsen's view escapes this difficulty; but on the other hand it increases enormously the number of the σίχοι λαγαροί, and makes the *ad hoc* assumption of a similar license in the second foot.

Furthermore both Solmsen and Sommer operate with an assumed gap between words, cf. "die die Woerter trennende kleine Pause", Rh. M. 60, 502, and "Beim Wortabsatz dagegen fehlt die Kontinuität", Glotta, 1. 193, which is directly opposed to the phonetic doctrine that the utterance is a 'Lautcontinuum'. I recall but cannot at present lay my hands on the statement of some phonetician to the effect that there is nothing in the operation of our speech organs which corresponds to the little white spaces that separate our printed words. But I can quote equally definite statements by Jespersen: "Wir sind von der Schule her namentlich durch die in der Schrift gebrauchte Worttrennung so sehr daran gewöhnt worden, die Woerter eines Satzes als fuer sich bestehende zu betrachten, dass es uns ziemlich schwer faellt, das tatsaechliche Verhaeltnis recht zu erkennen, . . . und zwar dass in natuerlicher Rede durchaus keine Worttrennung stattfindet", Phonet. Grundf., p. 147; and: "Das Wort ist naemlich kein phonetischer Begriff; auch nicht die eindringendste phonetische Untersuchung kann uns zeigen aus wieviel Worten eine ausgesprochene Aeussderung besteht oder wo das eine Wort autohört und das andere anfaengt. Wir haben schon viele mal . . . Beispiele dafuer gegeben, dass es beim Zusammenstoss von Lauten gleichgueltig ist, ob sie demselben oder mehreren Worten

angehören; zahlreiche Verhoerungen im muendlichen Verkehr¹ sowie viele sprachhistorische Erscheinungen beruhen eben darauf, dass wir in der natuerlichen Rede nicht die einzelnen Worte auseinanderhalten". Lehrbuch, p. 292, cf. also Sievers, p. 231 f.

If this phonetic doctrine is given due weight it follows that combinations of consonants must have the same effect upon the lengthening of a preceding syllable whether they occur in the interior of a word or at the juncture of two words; or as Brugmann puts it, Grundr. I, p. 876: "Dagegen sind die Lautaffectionen, die ein Wort im Satzinlaut durch seinen Zusammenhang mit den andern Woertern des Satzes erfahrt, nicht principiell von den Lautveraenderungen zu trennen, die im Einzelwort durch den gegenseitigen Zusammenhang von dessen Lauten und Silben veranlasst werden". The Solmsen-Sommer's hypothesis on the contrary culminates in the contrast: length by position before combinations of consonants is practically universal in the interior of a word, but never normal in the juncture of two words.

For this reason and on account of the other inconsistencies of the theory which have been mentioned above, we must—in my opinion—reject this hypothesis, and seek for another explanation which will cover all cases of 'position lengthening' whether in the interior or the juncture of words. The current opinion of the nature of 'position lengthening' is that of Sievers which identifies a syllable long merely by position with a close syllable containing a short vowel. Sommer, p. 193, correctly recognizes that this requires modification. Hephaestion cites B 2 εἶδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος as ending with a short syllable, and there can be no doubt that this syllable is closed. Unfortunately Sommer overlooked the fact that there is still another position in the verse, which proves the same thing, and in addition shows that the syllable has metrically the value of a short, and not as one might be inclined to assume a value intermediate between short and long. I have in mind verses such as:

A 9: Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς

in which υἱός is scanned as a trochee, although both the inter-

¹An amusing story showing the equivalence of 'cross I'd bear'=*crucem ferrem* with 'cross-eyed bear'=*ursus strabo*, is given by Lanman, Harvard Oriental Series, xi, p. xxxi.

punctuation and the caesura forbid the carrying over of its final consonant to the next word.¹

Progress in the question can be made by regarding a phonetic factor to which Jespersen has called attention—the difference between ‘loose contact’ and ‘close contact’. For the consonant may follow close upon the vowel at the moment when its pronunciation is most intense, or it may follow only after a slight interval when the force of the articulation of the vowel has already diminished—cf. Lehrs., p. 198. Close contact I would suggest is essential for length by position; and would call attention to the fact that in modern English the close contact of a long consonant with a short vowel results in a real lengthening of the vowel with a shortening of the consonant. The kind of contact employed varies greatly in different languages, as can be seen from the examples given by Jespersen; in Greek our best guide for determining it lies in the facts disclosed by the metre. On this basis however a simple explanation can be attained, for the contact after short vowels.

I. Before single consonants we have loose contact. Hence the first syllable of *πα/τήρ* is short and also the final syllables of *ἔπνο/ς* *νιδ/ς* before a pause.

II. Before all combinations of consonants there was originally close contact, and hence length by position. Compare Jespersen's statement, p. 200, that it is difficult to pronounce a group of consonants after loose contact.

III. A phonetic change began before the composition of the oldest parts of the Iliad, which consisted in employing loose contact before the combination mute and liquid.

Working on this basis the phenomena offered by the Homeric verse are capable of simple explanation. The alleged cases of ‘neglected position’ in which the digamma is involved fall away. They prove to be either instances due to a false etymology (4), or bad tradition of the text (13), or to composition at a time when the digamma was no longer pronounced (nearly 200). The instances before mute and liquid reflect the spread of the

¹ I am of course aware that Sommer has used this line to illustrate a division *vi-o-oo*, but must regard this merely as an inadvertent choice of a bad example. That a syllable so placed (before caesura and punctuation) is closed is recognized by Solmsen, p. 163, though his further view that the syllable being closed is therefore long is in my opinion untenable.

new pronunciation with loose contact before these combinations of sounds. Finally the cases of *Σκάμανδρος*, etc., represent an abnormal pronunciation tolerated because the words must be used and cannot be brought into the verse without some violence to their natural pronunciation.¹

As far as I can see there is but one difficulty. According to this there would be no reason for objecting to the metre of a line such as:

Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν. / τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

Both punctuation and caesura would combine to leave the final syllable of *κλαίωμεν* with the quantity which it would have at the end of the line, and we might theoretically expect to find it employed as a short syllable irrespective of whether the following word begins with vowel or consonant. That this expectation is not fulfilled is well known. I should therefore recognize in the avoidance of such lines an artificiality of the Homeric verse technique; meaning that the poet has subjected himself to limitations stricter than those demanded by the nature of the sounds. In the vast majority of cases a short vowel followed by such consonants must be lengthened and the poet refuses to depart from this custom even when the disregard of it would entail no audible defect on account of the pause due to the caesura and the interpunctuation. As a somewhat remote parallel may be cited the fact that Isocrates, when he is most careful, avoids hiatus even in places where the occurrence of a pause would render it in itself unobjectionable.²

In conclusion it is necessary to explain briefly the causes which have resulted in the peculiar distribution of the phenomena for which the Solmsen-Sommer theory endeavors to provide an explanation. In the first place the Homeric verse permits no resolution of the arsis, and consequently all short syllables must stand in the thesis. Whenever therefore a poet uses a short syllable before *ρέζω* because he pronounces one consonant and no

¹ This is the opinion also of Sommer, p. 178. Jacobsohn, *Hermes* 45, p. 80 f., also regards the scansion as abnormal and calls attention to the important fact that we are dealing with non-Greek names *Ζάκυνθος*, *Ζέλεια*, *Σκάμανδρος*.

² Similarly we might expect, but do not find, in the bucolic diaeresis something like: *παρέστασαν | λαὸν ἀγόνσαι*.

longer says $\text{F}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ this short syllable must stand invariably in the thesis. The same is true of all syllables used as short (for the reasons given above) before mute and liquid, or before $\Sigma\acute{\kappa}\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, etc. The result is a specious appearance of a connection between the absence of lengthening and the (weaker) articulation of the thesis.

The other half of the problem—the restriction of lengthening in thesis to the two first theses—is created only by making a distinction between the treatment of medial consonant groups on the one hand, and the treatment of initial groups or combinations of initial and final consonants on the other. For one who believes that such a distinction is unwarranted the problem does not exist, the lengthening being found freely in every thesis. Now it is possible that this unwarranted cutting off of a part of the material has intruded into the problem other elements entirely unconnected with the effect of the consonants upon the quantity of the preceding syllable. If this is the case and it can be shown that these elements suffice to explain the absence of 'position lengthening' in the third, fourth and fifth theses 'when there is a real separation of the words', it will be necessary to abandon the hypothesis.

In seeking to show the effect of these elements I shall begin with the fifth thesis. Sommer, p. 196, explains the absence of 'position lengthening' in this thesis as due to a progressive decrease of intensity toward the end of the verse, in consequence of which not even the closest syntactical combinations, such as $\tau\acute{o}\nu \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu, \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu \nu\eta\acute{\iota}$ can be used with the value of three long syllables. The refutation of this explanation is given by the occurrence of $\lambda\iota\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\eta$ (μ 64); for to me at least it is inconceivable that there is any difference in the closeness of combination of these three word groups which can justify the lengthening in the one case and render it impossible in the other two. That we do not find closes such as $\tau\acute{o}\nu \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu, \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu \nu\eta\acute{\iota}$, and I may add $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu \lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu, \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu \mu\ddot{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\nu$, must be due to some other cause. The explanation is to be found in the history of the spondaic line. Back of the Homeric poems lies a period in which the hexameter closed always—so also Witte, Glotta, iii. p. 147—with a dactyl and a spondee. The innovation of closing with two spondees was due not to any attempt to secure a particular rhythmical ethos, but to the fact that it provided a means of utilizing a class of words which could

not otherwise be brought readily into the hexameter. The words to which I refer are those consisting of four long syllables. To use these words in the hexameter is not an impossibility, but the difficulty of doing it may be inferred from the fact that the only instances in the first and third books of the Iliad are *εβρυκρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* (A 102, 355, 411, Γ 178), which is under the influence of *κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* and the line

Γ 412 *πᾶσαι μωμήσονται ἔχω δ' ἄχε' ἄκριτα θυμῷ,*

while there are eleven instances of such words at the close of the line. The innovation provided also a place for old stereotyped phrases ending with four long syllables, such as *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, διὰ κρατερὰς ὕσμινας*. Now in matters of metrical technique—there are parallels in metrical lengthening—what begins out of (practical) necessity spreads as a matter of convenience. Hence followed the use of words of the form — — — ∪ at the close of the line, although they go with ease into other places in the verse; and also of word groups of these forms, such as *νομῆσαι βῶν, φώνησέν τε, οὐδ' ἡβαιόν, Ἀχαιοί τε Τρῶές τε*. Now it is a fact, however we may explain it, that among these old groups there are none composed of two dissyllables. That the power of 'position lengthening' is not the cause of this exclusion is shown by the fact that groups like *ἄλλους λαούς, εἶπω μῦθον* are avoided just as rigorously as are those like *ἄλλον λαόν, εἶπον μῦθον*. If an explanation must be attempted, I should seek it partly in an 'accidental' absence of stereotyped phrases of this form, partly in the feeling that looser phrases must either be shifted to another part of the verse *ἄλλον λαόν ἄνωγε*, or altered *μῦθον εἶπον* so as to secure the usual close. Two lines of development of the spondaic line have been clearly traced by Witte, op. cit., pp. 129–148. They are first the multiplication of trisyllabic closes starting from the type of *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*; and secondly the use of compound verbal forms *κατατεθνηῶτος* as well as the uncompounded quadrisyllabic forms. This would close the history of the spondaic line, were it not for the appearance of a small group of another type, the examples of which are collected by Sommer, p. 157, cf. Ludwich, Aristarch, ii. 330. From this group is to be excluded K 299—cf. Leaf's note—where the tradition is decidedly in favor of *εἶασεν Ἑκτωρ*. Otherwise the examples all agree in showing a vowel which is the result of contraction, *ὄφρ'*

εὖ εἰδῶ, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεύ, Ἡῶ διαν, Ἡῶ μίμνον, ἰδρῶ πολλόν, αἰδοῖ εἴκων, δῆμον φῆμι. In the first of these the value of the tradition as against *ῥφρ* εὖ εἰδῶ is absolutely *nihil*; examples of it and of the second form Πατρόκλεις ἱππεύ are found in parts of the poem for which contraction cannot be admitted, and their correction is therefore imperative. For the remaining examples the corrections are easy, although the necessity of making them cannot be demonstrated. One who desires to retain the traditional readings has the problem of explaining the origin of lines of this type. The only possible origin which I can see is that older poets wrote Ἡῶα διαν, Ἡῶα μίμνειν, etc., as normal dactylic closes, that these became in the process of tradition contracted and thus started a new type of the spondaic line which was used and slightly extended by the authors of late parts of the Iliad and Odyssey.

That none of these types of the spondaic line affords any possibility of 'position lengthening' between words in the fifth thesis is obvious. Of spondaic lines which do not conform to one of these patterns we have four examples:

δ' 604 πυροὶ τε ζεῖαί τε ἰδ' εὐρυφνὲς κρὶ λευκόν.

μ 64 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λίς πέτρῃ.

ρ 208 ἄμφι δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοστροφέων ἦν ἄλσος.

Δ 639 οἶνω Πραμνείῳ, ἐπὶ δ' αἰγείων κνή τυρόν.

The two first of these represent the extreme development of the trisyllabic type, the single word being here replaced by a practically rigid word group. Such lines afford the only possibility of 'position lengthening', and by good fortune we find it in one of the two examples. In view of their scarcity the absence of closes like τὸν λαόν, σὺν νηϊ cannot be regarded as a matter which requires explanation; especially since λαόν, νηϊ are in the Homeric dialect perfectly synonymous substitutes. The third line is either to be corrected or explained like those of the Ἡῶ διαν type. The last is textually certain, cf. Bechtel, p. 208, but it is the only instance of a free combination of words found at the close of a spondaic line in Homer.¹

¹ The view here advanced that the spondaic line is an innovation made to utilize words of four long syllables serves to explain the greater frequency of the bucolic diaeresis in the spondaic line, and thus provides an escape from the dilemma proposed by Witte, Glotta, iii. p. 147. However it is necessary to await the fuller publication of his investigations.

With regard to the third thesis, Sommer, p. 160, recognizes correctly that the only possibility lies in the lengthening of a monosyllable, and judges that instances are hardly to be expected. But, he continues, "es fehlt auch jede Freiheit im Gebrauch von konsonantisch schliessenden Monosyllaba mit kurzem Vokal innerhalb der 3 Senkung [etwa *τίς*, *σός*, *σόν*, demonstratives *τόν*; *ἐν*; *δός*, *τρίς*; *δός*, *θείς*; *βάν*, *σάν*, *φάν* (Formen, die trotz sonstiger Einschränkung im Gebrauch bei beginnendem Satze sehr wohl erlaubt gewesen waeren; vgl. Wackernagel, Goett. Nachr. 1906, 147 ff.)]. Nur immer *σάν δ'* (Λ 216) *τίς τοι* (η 238), *τρίς δ'* (Π 785)". There are, however, other considerations which Sommer seems to have overlooked. In the first place the conditions which he demands are the caesural pause, a monosyllable, then a 'real separation of words'; in itself this combination is extremely unlikely. But furthermore this real separation of words is to occur at the end of the third foot, the one point at which it is most important to avoid a diaeresis. And finally there is the well known tendency to begin a clause after the caesura, which entails, cf. Wackernagel, IF. i. p. 333 ff., the following of enclitic or post-positive words in the second position, so that even if the clause opens with a monosyllable it will still be in a close combination. On the other hand it so happens that the monosyllables which come into question are used almost invariably in close combinations no matter in what part of the verse they occur. Consequently the fact that only these combinations occur in the third thesis cannot be regarded as proof that the combination is there requisite for the making of position.

Thus we find only *σάν δ'*, *βάν δ'*, *βάν ρ'*, *φάν δέ* at the beginning of the line and *φάν γάρ* in the second thesis. In these places there is no question of metrical compulsion; why then should

Λ 216 ἀρτίονθῃ δὲ μάχῃ, σάν δ' ἀντίοι· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων

be taken as evidence of metrical necessity? Of the uses of the interrogative pronoun we may set aside the double question *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν*; and the cases in which it is in close combination with its noun, *τίς γῆ*, *τίς δῆμος* (ν 233), *τίς δαίς*, *τίς δὲ ὄμιλος* (α 225), *τίς δαίμων* (ρ 446). Elsewhere we find the word at the beginning of the line followed by a particle, *τίς τάρ*, *τίς γάρ*, *τίς δῆ*, *τίς νυ*, *τίς δέ*, *τίς κε* (exceptional is β 28 *νῦν δὲ τίς ᾧδ' ἤγειρε*). In the interior of the line the word is followed by a particle or pronoun: thus

after the caesura when there is no position lengthening *τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειε*; I 77, cf. Ω 367, θ 208, κ 573; and also in other parts of the line where the close union of the words is not regarded as metrically necessary.

E 633 Σαρπηδόν, Δυκίων βουληφόρε, τίς τοι ἀνάγκη;

P 260 τῶν δ' ἄλλων, τίς κεν

469 Αὐτόμεδον, τίς τοί νυ

475 Ἀλκίμεδον, τίς γάρ τοι

586 Ἔκτορ, τίς κέ σε

Σ 182 Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε

Υ 332 Αἰνεία, τίς σε

Cf. also γ 113, κ 383, 501, ξ 115, τ 24, φ 259, χ 12. The only exception is afforded by an indirect question:

ρ 368 ἀλλήλους τ' εἶροντο τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν ἔλθοι; cf. ο 423.

Under these circumstances how can the occurrence of

η 238 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; τίς τοι τάδε εἴματ' ἔδωκε;

κ 64 πῶς ἦλθες Ὀδυσσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

be regarded as evidence that the union of the words was required to make position? Nor are the possessives *σός, σόν* used with the freedom necessary for yielding an example such as is desired. Their most frequent usage (15 examples) is in close combinations of the type *σὸν πατέρα*; eight times a particle enters into the combination, *σός τε πόθος, σός γε πατήρ, πατήρ δὲ σός*; to these may be added the phrases *σὸς φίλος υἱός* (χ 350), *σὸν κατὰ θυμόν* (Ω 518, 549), *σὸν καὶ ἐμόν* (ρ 594), *σὸν αἰεὶ θυμόν (νόστον)* (ν 148, 379). Opposed to these is one example in the predicate *εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι* (ι 529), and two examples in which the word is placed at the head of the clause for emphasis, and is of course followed by a particle.

P 589 σὸν δ' ἔκτανε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον.

δ 512 σὸς δέ που ἐκφυγε κῆρας ἀδελφεός

Why should metrical motives be invoked in one case rather than the other?

The use of *τρίς* furnishes a particularly good illustration. The word is used in fixed combinations *τρίς ἑκάστον* (ι 65), *τρίς τόσσον* (Α 213, Ε 136, Φ 80, Ω 686, θ 340), but otherwise shows a marked predilection for the beginning of the verse. For it to be preceded by other words as *ὥς τῷ τρίς* . . . (X 165), *οἱ δὲ*

τρίς (Ψ 13) is quite unusual. Frequently we have two parallel verses as:

λ 206 τρίς μὲν ἐφωρμήθην, ἔλκειν τέ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,
τρὶς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν

cf. φ 125-6, ε 436-7, θ 169-70, λ 462-3, ς 155-7, 228-9, φ 176-7. Now when the first of such clauses is greater or less than a verse τρίς is brought into the interior of the line. Of course it is always in the combination τρίς δέ so that there can be no question of metrical necessity controlling the usage. The examples are:

Π 702 τρίς μὲν ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο
Πάτροκλος, τρίς δ' αὐτὸν

784 τρίς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θοῶ ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηϊ
σμερδαλέα ἰάχων, τρίς δ'

Ψ 817 τρίς μὲν ἐπήϊξαν, τρίς δὲ σχεδὸν ὠρμήθησαν.

ι 361 τρίς μὲν ἔδωκα φέρων, τρίς δ' ἔκπιεν ἀφραδίῃσι.

μ 105 τρίς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίστην ἐπ' ἡματι, τρίς δ' ἀναροιβόει.

Of the other numerals suggested δέ is used only once in the combination δις τόσσον (ι 491); ἐν occurs six times (never in this position). For it I have no definite suggestions to make, but I cannot attach any importance to its absence until somebody writes a good hexameter in which it will violate Sommer's rules.

The case of demonstrative τόν (the relative is not considered as forming a close combination) may be tested in another fashion. If metrical necessity is the true cause of these limitations, they will not be found applying also to τήν, τοὺς, τάς. But, trusting Gehring's classification and disregarding the instances before an enclitic, I find in the third thesis only: τήν δέ Ξ 168, X 211; τοὺς δέ Δ 439, H 479, N 194, Ξ 14, O 7, T 377; τοὺς μὲν Φ 3; τὰς γάρ Ξ 31; τὰς δέ Ω 606 and a single example:

Ψ 616 ἀμφίθετος φιάλη τήν Νέστορι δῶκεν Ἀχιλλεύς.

which may quite as well be regarded as relative. It seems unnecessary to examine the Odyssey on this point.

Of the imperatives δός¹ has a strong tendency to take the first place in its clause and usually in the verse. The exceptions may be noted: first when the clause is introduced by καί as, A 338 ἐξαγε κούρην / καί σφωῖν δός ἄγειν.; Ψ 75 καί μοι δός τήν χεῖρα . . . ; secondly, when preceded by a vocative, Γ 351 Ζεῦ ἄνα δός

¹Θές (θ 425, Z 273) is of too rare occurrence to demand separate treatment.

τίσασθαι; thirdly, emphatic words have precedence in two lines, Γ 322 ὀππότερος / τὸν δὲ ἀποφθίμενον , Ζ 307 ἥδ' αὐτὸν/πρηγέα δὲ πεσείν Otherwise when δὲ is within the verse, the clause is regularly connected with another imperative and is consequently introduced by δὲ δέ regardless of the position of the words. The examples are:

γ 369 πέμψον σὺν δίφρῳ τε καὶ νίει δὲ δέ οἱ ἵππους.

ε 359 φίλε κασίγνητε, κόμισαί τέ με, δὲ δέ μοι ἵππους.

ζ 178 ἄστυ δέ μοι δείξον, δὲ δὲ ῥάκος ἀμφιβαλέσθαι.

π 524 κοίμησον δ' ὀδύνας, δὲ δὲ κράτος

ρ 646 ποίησον δ' αἶθρην, δὲ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσι ιδέσθαι.

There is just one exceptional passage in which there is a sharp contrast between the action of the recipient and the action of the giver, which finds its natural expression in the placing of σὺ δέ μοι at the head of the clause:

ι 364 Κύνκλωψ, εἰρωτῆς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν; αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι
ἐξερέω σὺ δέ μοι δὲ ξείνιον, ὥς περ ὑπέσσης.

The line is also remarkable on account of its tripartite rhythm, which is indicated clearly by the punctuation. Sommer regards this as the one example of a 'real separation of words' with position lengthening at this point. For my part I can discover no such separation; but the example shows what a remarkable combination of conditions is necessary to bring one of these monosyllables into this place without its being followed by a word like δέ or τοί.

Whether the restrictions observed in the use of these words rest on some broader principle or not, is a question which would lead too far from my present purpose. The point that I wish to make is that there is at the most a bare possibility for one who is acquainted with Sommer's rule about 'position lengthening' in the third thesis to compose hexameters which will violate it with these monosyllables. This possibility lies in the multiplication of instances of σὺ δέ μοι δὲ and in the use of indirect questions—*ὕμᾱς δ' εἴρονται τίς ῥέξατο τάσδ' ἐκατόμβας*—which are rare in Homer, cf. Monro, *Hom. Gram.*, § 248. Under these circumstances the fact that there is actually but one violation of this sort in Homer (ι 365) loses all significance.

There remain however the monosyllables ending in a short vowel. The chance of their being lengthened is greatly less as

it is then necessary that the next word begin with a combination of consonants. So much so is this the case that Sommer evidently did not consider it worth while to take them into account. On *a priori* grounds I should have agreed with him, but before the appearance of his article I had in studying Solmsen's work examined the use of *μά, ὁ, τό, τά, ε, α, πρό, σά, σύ, σέ, τί* and discovered some slight possibilities which it is only fair to mention, although the general conclusion must be the same as in the preceding paragraph. It is however not necessary to go into these examples with the same fulness of detail. Only twice is *σύ* lengthened in the Iliad, *Ο 26 τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ*, *Ω 500 τὸν σὺ πρῶην κτείνας* and it can be shown that the opportunity of lengthening is practically confined to clauses introduced by a relative or demonstrative pronoun, such as *ὃν σὺ φυλάσσεις, οὗς σὺ μεταλλᾷς τῷ σὺ μάλ' ἐγχαρίμψας*. Such clauses however will not be begun immediately before the caesura; and consequently we cannot have a line.

— υ υ / — υ υ / τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ πεπιθοῦσα.

The line :

Υ 194 ἦγον· ἀτὰρ σὲ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι

seems at first sight to suggest the possibility of a line (composed after the loss of the digamma) such as :

Τρῶες δ' ἦγον · ἀτὰρ σὲ Ζεὺς ἐρρύσατο ρεῖα

But the rhythm is obviously bad and the combination *ἀτὰρ σέ*—the only one which renders the lengthening possible—does not recur in the Iliad. I find in the Iliad just one verse in which the position of *τό* may be called free, *Υ 186 χαλεπῶς δέ σ' ἔολπα τὸ ῥέξειν*. Is this sufficient to make us wonder that we find nothing like *οὐ χαλεπῶς δέ σὺ φῆς τὸ Φρεχθῆναι*? The best chance for finding the demonstrative outside of a combination of particles is when it is the antecedent of a relative. This seems to be most frequent at the beginning of a line, still we find

Α 554 ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐνκηλὸς τὰ φράζεται ἄσος' ἐθέλησθα

in violation of Sommer's rule¹ which is as much as we can justly

¹ It comes under none of his categories, although Solmsen, *Unter*, p. 137, treats it as a close combination. Compare, however, Sommer, p. 171.

expect. On the other hand there are a few asyndetic questions with *τί*, in imitation of which one could imagine half lines like *τί κλαίμεν ἥτε παῖδες, τί πλώσσετε* — ∪ ∪ / — —. Their absence may fairly be regarded as accidental.

Sommer lays stress upon the fact that monosyllables with long vowels occur in this position. This argument disregards two points: first the possibility that the position of monosyllables with long vowels may on account of their quantity be freer than that of monosyllables containing short vowels, cf. Wackernagel's article and the facts cited above; secondly it so happens that the long vowel monosyllables belong to very different syntactical categories—note that *τήν, τούς, τάς* have no such freedom—and in this may lie the true cause of the difference. But disregarding these possibilities, an examination of the passages cited will show that while the combinations do not fall under Sommer's categories they are in reality instances of pretty close combinations even for one who believes in the reality of a division between the various words of an utterance. Thus the examples include conjunctions which will go closely with the clause they introduce, *ἡ ὕστερον αὐτίς ἰόντα, ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα, τῷ καί κέ τις εὐχεται ἀνὴρ*, and especially *ὡς νυκτερίς*; noun and adjective *σὺν ἄγριον*; verb and infinitive or adverb, *τλῆ μίμνειν, σχεῖν ἔμπεδον*; subject and verb *νύξ ἀνεται, πῦρ ἔμπεσε, Ζεὺς μῆσατο*; two adverbs *νῦν ὕστατα*. In the other ¹ lines the caesura is only apparent, and the close union of the words is brought out by attending to the true rhythm:

οὐ γάρ πώ ποτ' / ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν / οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους
 ἤριπε δ' / ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἤριπεν / ἢ ἀχερωῖς
 αὐτίκα νῦν / ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον / ᾧ κε σὺ χαίρης.

I have already shown how difficult it is to get a short monosyllable into such a position, when it does occur (i 365) the lengthening takes place.

So far I have been arguing that the almost universal observance of Sommer's rule in the third and fifth theses is without significance, because for other reasons it is almost impossible to break it. In the fourth thesis the situation is entirely different. It is perfectly easy to compose a number of lines which violate

¹ Π 717 is late, cf. Robert, p. 103. If one does not resolve the contracted vowel, he must regard the verse as modelled after one which originally contained *ἔεν*.

Wernicke's law, as may be readily seen from the discussion in the *Classical Review*, xi, 28 ff., 151 ff. The avoidance of such lines is therefore to be regarded as intentional, and its cause is to be found in the diaeresis which follows the fourth thesis. Only we must bear in mind that not every white space left in printing implies a diaeresis. By that term I understand only a voluntary interruption of the articulation made for rhythmical effect at the end of a foot. When thus understood its bearing upon the treatment of a preceding syllable is at once evident. A preceding syllable ending in short vowel and consonant before such a pause, will be under the same conditions as at the end of the line, and will remain short, entirely irrespective of the nature of the sound with which after the pause the articulation is resumed. As Sommer, p. 193 f. puts it: "Gilt der Versschluss ὕπνος als 'trochaeisch', so enthaelt auch . . . ἑανὼν/πατὴρ ἐπ' οὐδὲι mit mangelnder Kontinuitaet einen 'Trochaeus'". The difference between our views is that Sommer recognizes 'mangelnde Kontinuitaet' between all words which do not enter into certain close syntactical combinations, while I recognize it only in the case of a rhythmical pause.

The attempts to formulate the exceptions to Wernicke's laws have been in reality—though unconsciously—efforts to separate the merely apparent diaereses from the real ones. And hence it is not surprising that Tyrrell found the formulation of the law so illogical that he refused to believe in its existence, cf. *Class. Rev.* xi, p. 28. But if the term is understood as stated above, one may see—the facts are collected and arranged most clearly by Sommer, p. 146 ff.—that: 1) when there is no diaeresis two consonants invariably make position; 2) when there is a diaeresis there is no position lengthening. The only certain violation of the last statement is:

E 734 = Θ 385 πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὼν / πατὴρ ἐπ' οὐδὲι

in a late and tasteless section, for which I may refer to Sommer, p. 153, Robert, p. 189. Its scansion is analogous to the use of 'eye-rhymes' in English verse. Beside this example there are a few lines in which we are at first sight more or less strongly tempted to make a diaeresis. If this was the intention of their authors they must be regarded in the same fashion. However it is more probable that the authors wished them to be recited

without such a pause. They are listed by Sommer along with a few others in which there is little or no such temptation :

- H 336 *τίμβρον δ' ἄμφι πυρὴν ἕνα χεῖομεν ἐξαγαγόντες*
ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου· ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δέιομεν ὦκα
πύργους ὑψηλοῖς, cf. 436
- K 388 *ἦ σ' Ἐκτωρ πρόηκε διασκοπιᾶσθαι ἕκαστα*
νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς; ἦ σ' αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνῆκε;
- Σ 400 *τῇσι παρ' εἰνάετες χάλκεον δαίδαλα πολλὰ,*
 ω 240 *πρῶτον κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν πευρηθῆναι.*

Read without diaeresis these lines are good, read with diaeresis they are defective. This shows the nature of the difficulty which confronted the poet. If he wished to avail himself of 'position lengthening' at this point, he had to remove all temptation to pause here in the recitation of the verse. The consequence is that with the exception of these half dozen lines the instances of 'position lengthening' are confined to word groups within which there is no possibility of pausing.¹

¹ Sommer, p. 200 ff., has shown that there is good reason to expect in the fourth foot the license which the *στίχοι λαγαροί* show in the first. Nevertheless examples are almost non-extant. For the treatment of *ἡμιν, ὑμιν* reference to Witte, Glotta, ii. 8 ff., is sufficient, while Solmsen, KZ. xlv, 214 n. has shown that at most the following can be considered: Δ 36 . . . *βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο*. K 292, γ 382 . . . *βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον*. Δ 146 . . . *μίανθεν αἵματι μῆροί* (best tradition *-θην*). Hes. Op. 443 . . . *ἰθεῖαν ἀβλακ' ἐλαύνοι*. Even from these some deductions may be made: the most attractive emendation of Δ 146 may after all be wrong, and *μίανθην* analogical to the other forms, cf. the parallels adduced from later inscriptions by Sommer, p. 211 f.; possibly also we should read *ἦνιν* and explain it as due to the analogy of *ἦνις*, or say that an originally plural formula *βοῖς ἦνις εὐρυμετώπους* had been changed to the singular; Rzsch's emendation of the Hesiod passage is also worthy of serious consideration. At all events there is no evidence sufficient to warrant the conclusion that a verse with a trochee in the fourth foot was ever regarded as a permissible variety of the hexameter. The reason for this may be found by attending to an element pointed out by Leaf, Iliad, ii, p. 635, the importance of avoiding a false close. This explains also why a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot is prohibited, and must be taken into consideration in answering the question propounded by Witte, Glotta, iii, p. 146. I may also suggest that it played some part in determining the original exclusion of the spondee from the fifth foot.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

III.—THE PARTICIPIAL USAGE IN CICERO'S EPISTLES.

The frequency with which the participle occurs is dependent largely on the need of setting forth temporal relations, and in doing this the participle is an ever-present help. For this reason its proper sphere is the narrative; see Gildersleeve, A. J. P. IX 147. Of this fact there are abundant evidences in Latin historians, as can be seen by an examination of the examples collected by Helm.¹ But logical demonstrations, whether in prose or in poetical form, have little use for the participle, and some parts of the poem of Lucretius and the philosophical works of Cicero furnish good illustrations. Lyric poetry, as illustrated by the odes of Horace, freely represents some person or object in action, and for this reason the present participle is used more freely than the perfect. Let a few quotations suffice. We find in O. 1, 22, 23 *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, / dulce loquentem*; and in 1, 9, suggested by '*nive candidum Soracte*', *laborantes, reponens, deproeliantis, virenti, composita, latentis and dereptum*; as also in 3, 1, 23-31, *desiderantem, cadentis, orientis, culpante and torrentia*. But the Aeneid of Vergil is a still better example of participial usage, with one to every 2.7 lines; while Lucan '*ardens, et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus*' (Quint. 10, 1, 90) is nearly as free in its use.

The epistles of Cicero represent many moods, and with some prominent exceptions are specimens of unelaborated prose. The confidence in the earlier ones gives way later to an anxious tone indicated by the repeated statement of what ought to be, or of wonder in regard to what was immediately about to be, or more remotely going to be. Taken as a whole the present participle seems to be more prominent than in historical writings, and in this respect the ones written to Cicero do not differ from those written by him. The series of epistles from Caelius, Book VIII. ad Fam., was written to give the news at Rome, and though the

¹ *Quaestiones Syntacticae de Participiorum Usu Tacitino, Velleiano, Salustiano*, 139 pp.

standard set up at the beginning of the first, *discedens . . . peregrinantibus*, is not maintained, there are enough present participles scattered through the epistles to show that Caelius was closely watching the current of events at Rome. Contrasted with these are some others which are noticeably unparticipial. A good illustration of this is the letter of Sulpicius (ad Fam. 4, 5), written to Cicero after the announcement of the death of Tullia. One section of this is narrative, and begins (sec. 4) *ex Asia rediens*, but in the presentation of the main theme there is little need of emphasizing temporal relations.

Some of the epistles written by Cicero make little use of the present. He begins ad Fam. 4, 13 (to Figulus) *quaerenti mihi iam diu, quid ad te potissimum scriberem, non modo certa res nulla, sed ne genus quidem litterarum usitatum veniebat in mentem*. After such an introduction promising some unique form of presentation, we are not surprised to find the participles limited to a few occurrences of the perfect, just as in ad Fam. 9, 22, where Cicero discusses *libertatem dicendi*. Not differing from these from a participial standpoint is the elaborately polite epistle to Dolabella, ad Att. 14, 17 a; and ad Fam. 9, 14. These epistles are detached illustrations of the effect of a purely formal attitude on participial usage, which is also affected by the personal feeling. And the best evidence of this are the epistles to Terentia, Book XIV ad Fam., and those to Tiro, Book XVI. In the former Cicero refers to himself 3, 3, *mihi praesenti*, and in 5, 1 *exeuntibus nobis*, while in the epistles to Tiro, in whom Cicero was more interested, the present is more freely used. It may be asked if the usage in the epistle ad Quint. Frat. I. 1 agrees with that in the Comment. Petit. The former is somewhat more free in the use of the participle, though the latter has some forms of participial statement not found in the epistle. There is, however, a marked difference in the use of the ger. forms. In the epistle the most noticeable statement is in 7, 21 *facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in decernendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia*. In the Comment. there is an asyndetic succession of adjectives or nouns in sections 8, 28 and 41, just as in 4, 19, 23, 33 and 51 there is a succession of ger. forms dependent on a single term, indicating a somewhat different attitude in regard to the collocation of the gerunds and gerundives.

As most of the epistles are neither logical demonstrations nor artistic narratives, the frequency of occurrence of the participle

is a medium between that in those two kinds of composition. While the general stylistic tone has great influence, there are some grammatical considerations bearing on the frequency. There is often offered a choice between the passive construction with the participle or the active with the relative pronoun. Compare ad Quint. Frat. I. 2, 2, 6 sed quid opus fuit eius modi literis, quas ad ipsum misisti, with a following statement 'eae literae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium'. The relative form of statement is necessary to express certain temporal relations, and is to be expected when a demonstrative is to be defined, as in ad Att. 5, 4, 2 nunc venio ad eam epistulam quam accepi a Tullio. *Epistula data* seems a stereotyped form, but on the whole we should expect the type *quas misisti* rather than *a te missas*.

I. PARTICIPLES.

The participle as the equivalent of an abbreviated clause is freely used for some form of relative expression, temporal or otherwise. The perfect passive, except with *ante*, and the nominative of the participles of deponent verbs give antecedent action, and the present participle contemporaneous action. The occurrences of the ablative absolute (430), A. J. P. XXV 315, outnumber the pluperfect subj. with *cum* (379), A. J. P. XXVIII 434. When the construction is other than the abl. abs. the participle, if it refers to a known character, may be temporal; if unknown, relative. This may be illustrated by ad Att. 1, 10, 1 cum essem in Tusculano. . . . Roma puer a sorore tua missus epistulam mihi abs te adlatam dedit, that is 'a boy who had been sent by your sister delivered a letter which had been brought from you'. But the noun accompanying the participle in any other case than the nominative is generally within the range of the knowledge of the recipient, and most of the participles may be translated by relative clauses, as in B. 1, 16, 3 (Brutus) Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur; Fam. 5, 15, 3 quod enim esse poterat mihi perfugium spoliato; Fam. 13, 14, 1 L. Tatio Strabone, equite R. in primis honesto et ornato utor.

The nominative of the perfect participle of deponent verbs can be taken as temporal throughout, about one-third expressing motion, and of these *profectus* and *secutus* occur most freely. *Nactus* is used in ten of the fifty-six occurrences, as in Att. 10, 12,

1 ego enim Curionem n. omnia me consecutum putavi; and one-half are transitive with dependent nouns, as in Att. 5, 20, 3 eos cedentes . . . insecutus rem bene gessit; Att. 6, 2, 4 suis legibus et iudiciis usae ἀπονομίαν adeptae revixerunt. *Usus* occurs with the ablative in Att. 7, 2, 1; and Fam. 15, 4, 10; *perfunctus* Fam. 11, 17, 1; *oblitus* with the genitive, Fam. 16, 12, 2; and the semi-deponent *confisus* Fam. 12, 14, 4, and 12, 15, 2.

The perfect passive is also temporal in a few prepositional combinations. *Ad* gives the temporal setting Fam. 16, 10, 2 nostra ad diem dictam fient; and *post* more freely: Att. 4, 2, 2 p. illas datas litteras secuta est contentio; 8, 12, 2; 10, 4, 6; Fam. 9, 13, 1 nemo nostrum post Afranium superatum bellum ullum fore putaret; 9, 21, 2 dictator factus est annis p. Romam conditam CCCCXV et quadriennio; 15, 4, 13 p. iniuriam factam. *Ante* occurs Att. 14, 5, 2 a. res prolatas; Fam. 13, 30, 1 a. civitatem datam.

The ablative absolute of the present participle is used less freely than *cum* with the imperfect subjunctive, but much more freely than the *dum*-clause. It sometimes occurs in connection with a *cum*-clause, as in Att. 5, 17, 1 hanc epistulam dictavi sedens in raeda, cum in castra proficiscerer; 14, 1, 2; and 14, 2, 3 cum expectarem sedens; Fam. 4, 5, 4 (Sulpicius) ex Asia rediens cum ab Aegina Megaram versus navigarem, coepi regiones circumcirca prospicere. The present generally expresses motion, most freely *proficiscens*, and the principal verb is frequently *scribere*, as in Att. 4, 9, 2; 16, 1, 1 *iens*; and 6, 4, 3 *festinans*. Notice the rhetorical setting of ad. Quint. Frat. 1, 3, 1 quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras.

Another illustration of clausal equivalence is furnished by *propter* with the perfect in the following passages: Fam. 1, 7, 5 (to Lentulus) offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video; 7, 31, 2 (to Curius) propter tuas res contractas; and 13, 2, 1 (to Memmius) propter opera instituta multa multorum. It is interesting to note that none of these are in the epistles to Atticus, and this may be an indication of a little syntactical relaxation on the part of Cicero. *Ob* is not used by Cicero in this way, though it seems the best reading in a letter from Vatinius, Fam. 5, 10a, 2 qui *ob* sua bona direpta, navis expugnatas, fratres, liberos, parentes occisos actiones expostulant.

Considered with reference to time and voice, exclusive of the ablatives absolute, the perfect passive outnumbers the present active (1077 : 760), while the deponents are rare except in the nominative, and little use is made of the future. Such an unimportant factor is the latter in the epistles that it will not be out of place to give the occurrences as an indication that the Romans had not yet grasped the possibilities in the use of the future. Att. 8, 9, 2 quid nunc ipsum de se recipienti, quid agenti, quid acturo? and B. 1, 17, 2 (Brutus) alterius fundamentum et radices habituri altiores, are the occurrences apart from those of *futurus*: Fam. 10, 10, 1 f. beneficii; 10, 33, 3 (Pollio) tumultus; A. 4, 8 a, 2 consulum; 5, 13, 3 iudiciorum status aut factorum aut futurorum; 15, 4 a, 1 tuas igitur expecto nec actorum solum, sed etiam futurorum; Fam. 4, 3, 1 tempestatem f.; 8, 5, 2 successionem f.; Fam. 6, 4, 1; and Att. 7, 13 a, 3 de rebus futuris. In these the greater frequency of the genitive is perhaps without significance, though with the deponents the predominance of the nominative is due to the temporal force which does not appear in the other cases. In the genitive and accusative there are a few instances of *meritus* and *mortuus*, and for the latter a compound, Att. 1, 14, 4 de intermortuis reliquiis. *Uso* is also found, Att. 9, 6, 4 cum Pompeio qualicumque consilio uso. In the dative, in addition to *meritus* and *mortuus*, we find in Att. 2, 16, 1 cenato mihi reddita; and Fam. 1, 9, 10 ut mihi tam multa pro se perpersso atque perfuncto concederet. Neither of these participles, future or deponent, furnishes any evidence of differences in case usage, though there are some clearly marked in the use of the others.

In the genitive the present participle has a general reference in a few passages: Att. 14, 16, 3 non est fidentis hoc testimonium, sed potius timentis; B. 1, 16, 4 ut probantis speciem habeas; and Fam. 11, 3, 3 nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est. A noun is usually expressed or can be readily inferred, as in the half a dozen occurrences of *absentis ratio*, and also Att. 7, 7, 6; and 7, 9, 3 exercitum retinentis r. In the dative the difference between perfect and present in frequency of occurrence is very marked (29 : 127). The larger part of both are connected with verbs, though the agent is given only by the present: Att. 5, 21, 9 redeuntibus consumendus. And similar to this in the Comment. Petit. 2 descendenti meditandumst, which is repeated in 54. Compare with this Att. 12, 2, 2 verum si quaeris, homini non recta, sed voluptaria quaerenti nonne *βεβιωται*? The Com-

ment. Petit. has one example which does not seem to have a parallel elsewhere in the epistles, sec. 10 vivo stanti collum gladio sua dextera secuerit. Of much more interest are the passages in which the adjective gives the qualitative relation of something to a person in action: *facilis* B. 1, 5, 3 praesentibus facilliora; *gratus* Fam. 8, 1, 1 peregrinantibus; *inimicus* Att. 14, 10, 4 cui antea bene merenti fuerit i.; *necessarius* Att. 3, 7, 1 nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non n.; B. 1, 15, 7 exercitum habenti n.; *paratus* Fam. 10, 18, 4 venienti Bruto . . . p.; *periculosus* Q. I. 1, 1, 4 p. administranti; *promptus* Fam. 5, 8, 2 tibi absenti nihil esse tam p. aut tam paratum. The following are associated with nouns, both in letters by Brutus, B. 1, 11, 2 illi ita sentienti . . . auctor fui; B. 1, 4 a, 2 quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut praesidio sit.

The perfect appears in the accusative much oftener than the present, a noun already acted upon being used as object of a verb much more frequently than a noun in action. About one-fifth of the perfects occur with *habere*, a subject which has been exhaustively discussed by Thielmann, Archiv II, pp. 372-423, 509-549. *Cognitum* and *perspectum* are most freely used in the epistles with *habere*, as in B. 1, 1, 1 Clodi animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, iudicatum. A few others occur two or three times, while forty are found once each. In some passages *tenere* is used in the same way: Att. 9, 12, 3 saeptum tenet; Fam. 10, 8, 1 tenuisse suspensam; and Comment. Petit. 20 devinctos tenes. The opposite in meaning are instances with *relinquere*, as in Att. 11, 1, 2 expeditam r.; Fam. 1, 9, 15 incohatam r.; Fam. 7, 32, 1 sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum.

II. THE GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

The elaborate discussion by Snellman, De Gerundiis Orationum Ciceronis, 231 pp., gives the facts in full for Cicero's orations where the usage in the main is like that in the epistles. In these as in the orations (see Snellmann, p. 218, N. 3) the sphere of the different cases is not entirely distinct. Of the thirty-seven nouns occurring with *ad* and the ger., thirteen are among the seventy with the genitive, e. g. Att. 7, 1, 4 non est locus ad tergiversandum; Att. 5, 11, 5 locus delinquendi; Att. 7, 3, 4 spes ad resistendum; Att. 9, 13, 6 spem fruendi; Att. 6, 2, 4 facultatem ad se aere alieno liberandas aut levandas dedi; Att. 1, 5, 4

cum et otii ad scribendum plus et facultatem dandi maiorem habueris. In the same way a third of the forty-three nouns with the ablative are also with the genitive, as in Att. 11, 25, 3 difficultatem in consilio dando; Fam. 3, 9, 4 d. navigandi; Fam. 1, 8, 3 libertas in re publica capessenda; Fam. 9, 22, 1 l. loquendi; B. 1, 4a, 2 (Brutus) modus in tribuendis honoribus; Fam. 5, 16, 6 lugendi modum.

The epistles furnish some instances in which Greek words have been woven in with the Latin, and some of these are with the ger.: Att. 12, 45, 2 ut . . . ὑπόθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur; Q. 2, 15, 4 te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. In the same way with *ad* Att. 16, 5, 4 magna ῥοπή ad proficiscendum in tuis litteris. The following are used with the ablative: Att. 6, 9, 2 in quo, ut praecipis, nec me κενὸν in expectando cognoscas, nec ἄτυχον in abiciendo; Att. 15, 1a, 2 vereor ne . . . ὑπερτιτῶς sis in iudicando.

There is nothing about the gerundive (future passive participle) requiring special notice, for half of the occurrences are with *curare*, and the larger part of the remainder with *dare* (10), *locare* (5) and *relinquere* (5). However, some phases of the different cases of the ger. call for presentation.

A. GENITIVE.

Not counting the occurrences with *causa*, where the gerundive is predominant (30 : 8), the gerund is the prevailing construction with nouns (169 : 70), though the nouns themselves are more nearly equal in number (51 : 31), counting as two the expression in Fam. 16, 24, 1 mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi. Most of these are abstract nouns, and are well illustrated by the examples given by Draeger II 825 seqq., though his statements need some modifications. *Festinatio* is not new for Livy, as it occurs Fam. 10, 26, 2 te adipiscendi magistratus . . . praepropera f. abducat a tantis laudibus; and *sententia* is in Att. 8, 14, 1 neque novam denique iam reperiam scribendi ullam sententiam. *Iudicium*, quoted from Velleius, occurs B. 1, 2, 4 i . . . belli gerendi; and *voluptas*, Att. 2, 6, 2 cum aliqua scribendi voluptate, for which Draeger quotes an example from Suetonius, as he does of *felicitas* from Justinus, though Cicero has it Att. 7, 2, 1 usi tua felicitate navigandi. *Gloria* is cited from Vergil, and *diligentia* from Gellius, though

the Comment. Petit., whoever its author and whatever its date, has the former 1, 2 *nominis novitatem dicendi* g. maxime suble-
vabis; and the latter in connection with *ratio*, 3, 11 *summa ratio*
ac d. petendi.

Personal nouns are much less freely used. In addition to those given by Draeger II 826, there are used *auctor* Att. 3, 9, 1; Fam. 11, 27, 8 twice; and *magister*, Fam. 9, 16, 7 occurs in contrast with *discipulos*, *Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros.* To this list is to be added *opifex*, Fam. 7, 25, 2 is (*stilus*) enim est dicendi opifex, which is merely a variation from de Or. 1, 33, 150 (*stilus*) dicendi effector et magister. Adjectives with the genitive are not at all freely used and in this respect Cicero did not advance far beyond the beginnings of such association. *Cupidus* occurs a few times, Att. 8, 11 D, 7; Fam. 4, 1, 1; 7, 13, 1; 10, 18, 1 quod homini pudenti et cupido satisfaciendi rei publicae... accidere solet; Att. 5, 21, 5 c. mei videndi; and Fam. 10, 27, 1 pacis inter cives conciliandae te cupidum esse laetor. *Studiosus* seems limited to Att. 8, 3, 3 ille restituendi mei quam retinendi studiosior; Fam. 7, 10, 2 studiosissimus homo natandi.

B. DATIVE.

The dative is very sparingly used, *scribendo adesse* (Att. 4, 17, 2; 7, 1, 7; Fam. 12, 29, 2; 15, 6, 2; and in a sen. consult. 8, 8, 5 and 6) and *solvendo non esse* Att. 13, 10, 3; Fam. 3, 8, 2 occurring most frequently. Two of the gerundives occur in quotations, Fam. 7, 12, 2 quod ius statutes '*communi dividundo*', and another in Fam. 16, 17, 1 '*valitudini fideliter inserviundo*' is due to the fact that Tiro's use of *fideliter* did not satisfy the critical taste of Cicero. The few others are associated with nouns, *auctor* Att. 8, 3, 3; and *dies* Att. 1, 14, 5; and 4, 16, 5 iudicibus reiciendis *dies est dictus*; or with verbs: Fam. 4, 7, 2 interfuisti rebus gerendis; and Q. 2, 4, 1 nam defendendo moroso homini satis fecimus.

C. ACCUSATIVE.

Nearly all the accusatives are with *ad, ob* occurring only Att. 1, 17, 8 ob iudicandum; and Att. 2, 1, 8 ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit, both in expressions of judicial action. With nouns and adjectives the ger. indicates the fitness or adaptation for some specific action, and of the thirty-two adjectives so used, a part are found in Livy with the dative. About one-half of the

gerunds or gerundives, and it is generally the gerundive, express design, while the remainder for the most part indicate adaptation or incitation. With verbs of motion the ger. form gives the end in view, while with *esse* are given static relationships, as in F. 5, 17, 5 *nullo loco dero neque ad consolandum neque ad levandam fortunam meam*. At times there is also given some realized action. A good illustration of this is Att. 2, 7, 2, where Cicero says that he had screwed his courage up to the sticking point, *acueram me ad exagitandam hanc eius legationem*. Other illustrations of attainment of effort are Fam. 9, 16, 1 *te ad scribendum incitavit*; 16, 2, 3 *incendi ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam*.

D. ABLATIVE.

The ablative of the gerund without a preposition occurs much more frequently than of the gerundive (55 : 21). Nearly all of these are instrumental, there being but few examples in which the ger. indicates the sphere in which the main activity was performed. This sphere is usually indicated by the preposition *in*, though it is sometimes omitted, and a single illustration will suffice for this, Fam. 3, 10, 1 *in hac provincia . . . rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis . . . gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partis*. The sphere of the prepositional usage is a wide one, if we consider only the words with which the ger. is associated, for most of these occur but a few times each, allowing great variety in form of statement. This is best illustrated by *in* with the ger., which occurs sixty-eight times with forty-three nouns, fifty-one times with forty-two adjectives, and seventy-nine times with fifty-six verbs, or in reverse order one hundred and forty-one words with one hundred and ninety-eight occurrences of the ger.

Next in importance to *in* is *de*, most freely with the gerundive (65 : 9), the main action generally referring to some object, rather than to an action as expressed by the gerund. *Ex* seems limited to the contrasted statement Fam. 2, 12, 3 (*laus*) *non erat minor ex contemnenda quam est ex conservata provincia*. *Ab* occurs a little more freely, once with an adjective Att. 1, 13, 2 *sum enim et ab observando homine perverso liber*. The other examples are associated with verbs of disinclination or of restraint, and with both gerund and gerundive. *Abhorrere* occurs Att. 2, 6, 1 *a scribendo*; 7, 13, 2 *a pugnando*; 14, 13, 5 *a ducenda*

uxore; F. 2, 16, 3 ab urbe relinquenda. Expressions of restraint are found in B. 1, 15, 10 ab impugnanda patria deterrerem; Fam. 5, 17, 1 a scribendo . . . retardarunt; Q. 3, 2, 2 me teneo ab accusando: Comment. Petit. 55 ab impediendo, ac laedendo repelluntur.

The gerunds and gerundives in the epistles are a varied rather than a prominent element, and there are a few principles to which Cicero adhered quite closely, and in at least one point differed from his correspondents.

1. The gerundive is generally used instead of the gerund with an accusative. However the accusative singular is found Att. 10, 4, 6 consilio relinquendi Italiam; and the plural Att. 4, 19, 2 hiberna legionis eligendi optio, where he seems to have avoided a genitive dependent on a genitive. This limitation however does not apply to pronouns, for *aliquid* occurs Att. 7, 20, 1; Fam. 4, 6, 3; and 11, 28, 7; as also *plura* Fam. 8, 6, 2 non est iam tempus plura narrandi. With the ablative the accusative is used only where there is another gerund in the statement: Fam. 10, 31, 6 manendo in provinciam an ducendo exercitum; and 12, 13, 3 spem saepe transitionis praebendo neque umquam non decedendo.

2. There are but few occurrences of the genitive plural of the gerundive, and in these it is to be noted that Cicero does not have the succession -arum -arum, or -orum -orum. The nearest he comes to these is in Att. 3, 7, 3 mutandarum rerum; Fam. 15, 13, 2 r. gerendarum; and Fam. 2, 3, 1 declarandorum munus. Other third declension endings are in Att. 3, 24, 1 adiungendorum consulum; Fam. 5, 4, 2 omnium servandorum; 5, 20, 1 rationum referendarum.

3. In the ablative the gerund without a preposition is used more freely than is the gerundive, but the reverse is true when a preposition is used, and this is most noticeable with *de*.

4. Cicero regularly has the genitives *mei, tui, sui*, while Pollio has in Fam. 10, 33, 5 spatium confirmandi sese Antonio dari; and Brutus, Fam. 11, 2, 2 facultatem habet decipiendi nos.

It will not be out of place to contrast briefly the usage of Cicero with that of Livy in the ger. sphere. The sentence organization is so different that a comparison in the domain of the strictly participial usage would not be fair to either, for frequency of occurrence would be the chief difference. However, in the use of the ger. forms Livy emphasizes certain phases which

Cicero does not. Less than twenty years intervened between the beginning of the literary activity of Livy and the close of the activity of Cicero when Livy was fifteen years of age. We do not know when he left Patavium, nor whether he had ever heard Cicero speak. Be this as it may he was a sincere admirer of Cicero, for he said, as quoted by Sen. Rhet. S. 5, 22 *magnus ac memorabilis fuit et in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit*; and the further commendation quoted by Quintilian 10, 1, 39 is well known '*legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita, ut quisque esset Demostheni et Ciceroni simillimus*'. We may safely assume that the works of Cicero were the basis of the training of Livy, and that he modified the basis as Cicero also had done. In dealing with the ger. (see A. J. P. XXVII 280 seqq.) he made far more extended use of the dative than did Cicero; he did not restrict himself in the use of the accusative as object of the gerund; in the ablative the use of *in* is far less prominent than in the epistles; and in the genitive the use of the accusative of pronouns is noticeable. These are matters in which there might have been a parity of usage in the epistles and in the history, while the more elaborate setting in Livy is merely an evidence of a necessary difference in style.

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IV.—HORACE'S VIEW OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SATIRE AND COMEDY.

The thirtieth book of Lucilius seems to have embraced five satires, the second of which (represented by ll. 1008-1038 in Marx's edition) was addressed to some comic poet, a friend of the writer's. In this satire the nature of comedy seems to have been discussed, one surviving verse (1029)

sicuti te, qui ea quae speciem vitae esse putamus

presenting a view which is frequently found in ancient writers, viz., that comedy is an imitation of life. So, for example, *comœdiam esse Cicero ait imitationem vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis* (Donatus, ed. Wessner, I, p. 22), and again: *aitque esse comoediam cotidianae vitae speculum, nec iniuria* (ib., p. 23).¹

In commenting on this passage, Marx, who often seeks to disparage Horace, in comparison with his favorite Lucilius, remarks: *sed iam intellegitur quo auctore Horatius l. s. (sc. Serm. I. 4, 45 sq.) disputationem illam de comoedia inseruerit illo loco parum aptam, apud Lucilium propter eius ad quem scripsit personam aptissimam.*

It is worth while to inquire whether Horace's discussion of comedy in the course of this fourth satire is as inappropriate as Marx maintains. That type of comedy, which is exemplified by the Old Attic masters, is the theme of the very first lines,² and Horace correctly seizes upon its leading characteristic, viz., absolute freedom of speech:

multa cum libertate notabant.

¹ Cf. the Greek passages cited by Marx. Quintilian's characterization of Menander is determined by this idea: *ita omnem vitae imaginem expressit* (Inst. 10. 1, 69).

² Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poëtae,
Atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,
Quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

Serm. I. 4, 1-5.

'In Roman literature', says¹ Horace in substance, 'Lucilius shows a similar boldness of utterance. His spirit is that of Old Attic Comedy, but his metrical forms are different, and his verse is uncouth. He was careless and verbose, more interested in the quantity than the quality of his work' (6-13).

'Similar in this last respect is Crispinus, who challenges me to a scribbling contest, but I decline to compete with such poetasters, even as I refuse to emulate the self-satisfied Fannius² by reading my verses in public, because this kind of writing is not popular. Men do not like to have their weaknesses exposed. "Give such a poet a wide berth", they cry' (14-38).

'Listen to my defence. In the first place, a man who composes verses as I do, verses that are really more like conversation, *sermoni propiora*, should not be called a poet. The true poet has imaginative power and lofty utterance. This³ is why the question has been raised whether comedy⁴ is poetry, for even in its most spirited passages, as rendered on the stage (*personatus pater*), we are really dealing with pure conversation, *sermo merus*, such as would be suitable to similar scenes in daily life' (38-56).

'So it is with the verses of Lucilius and my own. Take away the metrical element, change the word-order, and you have plain prose. But the question whether satire is poetry must be post-

¹ So far as it goes, this analysis is in harmony with that given by Prof. Hendrickson, in his article on Horace, *Serm. I. 4: A Protest and a Programme*, A. J. P. XXI (1900).

² The significance of the introduction of Crispinus and Fannius is well explained by Hendrickson, in dealing with this passage in another article, *Satura as a Generic Term*, *Class. Phil.* VI, p. 131.

³ *Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema
Esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
Nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
Differt sermoni, sermo merus* (45-48).

⁴ i. e. New Comedy as seen from the reason given (46-7) and the illustration (48 sq.):

'At pater ardens
Saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
Filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
Ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
Noctem cum facibus'.

Cf. Hendrickson, A. J. P. XXI (1900) pp. 129, 130.

poned. At present let us consider the question of its unpopularity' (56-65).

The mere analysis of Horace's thought, as just given, will, I trust, dispose effectively of Marx's statement that the discussion of comedy in this fourth satire is *parum apta*. Horace is instituting a comparison between satire and comedy, his purpose being to establish, or at least suggest, literary standards for the sphere which he is cultivating. His great predecessor in *genus hoc scribendi*¹, Lucilius, in whose footsteps, notwithstanding all his defects, Horace must needs follow, was regarded as one of Rome's classics. His large body of verse was extremely familiar to Horace and his contemporaries, and upon this as a basis any new satire must necessarily have been built.

The best taste of the Augustan age demanded for literary work of every sort perfection of form and style. Practically all fields of prose and poetry were under cultivation, but success waited only upon those who devoted care and toil to securing the best results. Originality and creative power were certainly demanded and admired, but these won little favor with competent judges if not coupled with the charm of finished workmanship. The poet must have not merely the *mens divini*, but also the *os magna sonaturum*²; the prose writer must of course have something worth telling, but he must also understand and apply with success the methods of artistic presentation.

Now it was obvious to Horace, with his fine sense of literary finish, that there was at least one important field of verse where both earlier and contemporary writers had failed to observe high standards. In the interesting enumeration of poets of the day, which we find in Serm. I. 10, 36 sqq., Fundanius is named as a successful writer of light comedies;³ Pollio has won fame in tragedy and Varius in the epic, a sphere in which Furius Bibaculus has failed dismally; Virgil has displayed *molle atque facetum* in his pastorals. But in the field of satire, Varro Atacinus and others whom Horace does not name have been unsuccessful, our poet boldly claiming that he is their superior.

But Horace is not satisfied with merely surpassing his contemporaries. He is audacious enough to point⁴ out striking defects

¹l. 65.

²ll. 43-4.

³That these were composed for reading or recitation, not for the stage, is to be inferred from both *garrire* and *libellos* (41); cf. Kiessling's note.

⁴Serm. I. 4, 7-13.

in the great Lucilius, who, with all his genius (*facetus, emunctae naris*), is rough in style (*durus componere versus*), careless and diffuse. His stream runs muddy, he chatters too freely (*garrulus*), and he is too lazy to take pains in his composition (*piger scribendi ferre laborem*).

Horace's comments upon Lucilius in this fourth satire brought down considerable censure upon him from the critics who upheld the excellence of early Latin poetry, and to these therefore he makes reply in his tenth satire. He repeats his criticisms as to the crudity of Lucilius' verse,¹ the muddiness of his stream,² his lack of finish,³ and his fatal copiousness⁴. He admits that he has great satiric power,⁵ and will even allow that, as compared with one carving out a new species of verse, quite untouched by the Greeks, he may have some polish,⁶ but he maintains⁷ that had Lucilius lived in the Augustan age he would have filed away his roughness and learned

"the last and greatest art, the art to blot".

At the same time he acknowledges⁸ his own inferiority to the famous inventor of satire, though I am inclined to think that this admission does not represent his real view, but is made diplomatically to disarm his opponents.

Satire is confessedly verse on a comparatively low plane. It is merely versified prose of a conversational tone, and the subject matter is drawn from the sphere of daily life. In these respects, satire resembles comedy. The latter takes its subjects from

¹ Nempe in composito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. (ll. 1-2.)

² At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. (ll. 50-51.)

³ Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
Quaerere num illius, num rerum dura negarit
Versiculos natura magis factos et euntes
Mollius, &c. (ll. 56-59.)

⁴ Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
Ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus. (ll. 60-61.)

⁵ At idem quod sale multo
Urbem defricuit charta laudatur eadem. (ll. 4-5.)

⁶ Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor. (ll. 64-66.)

⁷ ll. 68-74.

⁸ Inventore minor. (l. 48.)

ordinary life,¹ while its language is *sermo merus* (Serm. I. 4, 48). Horace writes *sermoni propiora* (ib. 42), and calls his satires *sermone*, 'talks', 'causeries', a term which, as we shall see, Lucilius had also used of his own writings long before. Horace's 'talks' are on the incidents and aspects of everyday life, and show a steady tendency toward the discussion of a philosophy of life.

But while satire and comedy are so closely related, they are, of course, far from being identical, and Professor Knapp makes a grievous mistake when he declares² that "to Horace comedy and satire were convertible terms", and supposes that in ll. 45-65 of this fourth satire the poet is dealing with *comoedia* throughout, the word being "replaced by *genus hoc scribendi* (plainly 'satire') in 65". Nobody else to my knowledge has had the temerity to claim that Horace wrote comedy. Surely it is not necessary to point out that while satire may embrace many dramatic features³—all the more naturally if, according to the traditional, and still generally accepted view, Lucilian satire is descended from a rude dramatic type—it yet differs from comedy in the all important matter of dramatic form.

As a student of literature, Horace was evidently impressed by the fact that notwithstanding their natural relationship to each other, comedy and satire were not on the same artistic footing. Latin comedy had reached a high degree of excellence, which one at least of his contemporaries (viz. Fundanius) had seemingly maintained. In satire, however, no high standard had yet been set, for nobody had improved upon Lucilius, and Lucilius, in Horace's opinion, was lamentably deficient in those stylistic qualities which good writing, even for satire, demanded.⁴

In illustration of the *vis comica*, which to Horace's interlocutor would seem to be coupled with poetic spirit and diction, is cited a dramatic scene⁵ in which an angry father storms because his

¹ *ex medio res arcessit* (Epist. II. 1, 168).

² The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition Concerning the Dramatic Satire; A. J. P. XXXIII (1912), p. 131.

³ Cf. Hopkins: Dramatic Satire in Relation to Book Satire, PAPA XXXI (1900), pp. L sq.

⁴ What these qualities are, Horace tells us in his tenth satire, of which a good analysis is given by Hendrickson in his article Horace and Lucilius, in Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, pp. 151 sqq.

⁵ See p. 184, footnote 4.

wayward son is madly in love with a courtesan, refuses a wife with a large dowry and is shameless enough to parade the streets at an early hour in a tipsy revel. A scene precisely like this is nowhere found in any of our extant plays, though the *ardens pater* is a familiar personage in Terence, and one naturally thinks of Pamphilus and Glycerium in the *Andria*, or of Antipho, who in the *Phormio* is captivated with the penniless Phanium. More specific, however, is the reference in another passage, though again the author in view is not named. In the *Ars Poetica* the writer reminds us that each kind of poetry has its appropriate style, "yet at times even Comedy raises her voice, and angry Chremes storms violently with swelling tones".¹ Here the angry father is named, and the name is one which, though not found at all in Plautus, occurs in four plays of Terence. In three of these, Chremes is an old man, and the particular scene to which Horace refers is probably the fourth in the last act of the *Hauton*, in which Chremes assails his son Clitipho. Chremes in fact is for Horace the typical old man of comedy, and as such is named along with Davus (as in the *Andria* and *Phormio*) in the passage cited above,² descriptive of the approved comedies of Fundanius, who evidently followed the Terentian type. In another passage, where Horace wishes to illustrate the folly of lovers, who show all the fickleness of children, he significantly takes a scene almost word for word from the *Eunuchus*³ of Terence.

It is a familiar fact that Horace is distinctly hostile to the old poets generally. In the epistle to Augustus and the *Ars Poetica*, where he passes in review so many of the early writers, he severely censures Ennius, Plautus, Accius and others whom he expressly names, but nowhere does he pass an unfavorable judgment upon Terence. The popular verdict that Terence excels in art⁴ is recorded, though Horace's own judgment is provokingly

¹ Interdum tamen et vocem Comoedia tollit
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore

Ars Poet. 93 sq.

² Viz. Serm. I. 10, 40 sq.

³ Serm. II. 3, 259 sqq. = *Eunuchus*, 46 sqq.

⁴ Dicitur

Vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

(Epist. II. 1 57 sqq.)

In his *Der Mimus*, pp. 337 sqq., Reich has an interesting discussion of this passage in connection with the canon of Volcatius Sedigitus, who, it

concealed. It is, however, quite possible that even in Terence Horace could find traces of that rusticity, *vestigia ruris*,¹ which still lingered, as he remarks, in his own day. Under this head would perhaps come the metrical freedom which Terence exhibits in common with all the earlier poets, but which was not approved by the canons of art in the Augustan age. To take a single example, even Cicero, who in his early poetry disregards final *s* in determining syllabic quantity, in later life spoke of this practice as *iam subrusticum*.²

At the same time it is inconceivable that Horace should have failed to recognize the excellences of a poet, whose purity of style has commended him to the most fastidious critics. If Cicero could eulogize Terence as

quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens,

if Caesar could compare him to the polished and graceful Menander, and describe him as *puri sermonis amator*, 'lover of Latin undefiled', while at a later day the discriminating Quintilian³ could apply to his plays the significant epithet *elegantissima*, if to the Latin writers of mediaeval and modern times he has been the chief model for purity and refinement in conversational style, if Sainte-Beuve⁴ calls him *le lien entre l'urbanité romaine et l'atticisme des Grecs*, and assures us that if Virgil had written comedies he would have written them as Terence did, we need not hesitate to believe that Horace also recognized in the work of Terence a remarkable achievement, being nothing less than a near approach to literary perfection in the field of comedy.

Fortunately, we have positive as well as negative evidence of Horace's admiration for Terence. The comic writer's influence in moulding the admirable style of Horace's *sermo cotidianus* has often been commented upon, and a comparative study of

will be remembered, gives the first place to Caecilius, and only the sixth to Terence. This canon, according to Reich, is based on the approximation of comedy to the mime, and as the palm is given to Caecilius as *mimicus*

Caecilio palmam Statio do mimico,

so the *gravitas* of Horace is the *πάθος* of Varro, and means "energy of comic expression". The fine art of Terence is the "Gegenpol der kraftvollen, volksmässig-energischen, aber ungekünstelten Weise des Cäcilius".

¹ Epist. II. 1, 160.

² Orator, 48, 161.

³ Inst. X. 1, 99, *quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima*.

⁴ Nouveaux Lundis, Tome 5, p. 366 (ed. Lévy Frères, 1866).

Horace and Terence will show that the later poet owes not a little of his success to his intimate familiarity with the plays of Terence.¹

Side by side with this purity of diction and artistic refinement of style, exhibited by at least one master of comedy, stand in marked contrast the slipshod, slovenly effusions of Rome's great satirist, Lucilius. Notwithstanding the doubt about the date of his birth, in his literary activity Lucilius is at least a full generation later than Terence, though in style he is much more closely related to the writers of a former age, such as Plautus. To Horace, therefore, Lucilius must have seemed a literary degenerate, who had refused to uphold a high standard of excellence already attained.

We naturally ask what apology, if any, Lucilius could have made for this apparent backsliding. For his chief defence, he would, I believe, have relied upon his *genus scribendi*, the satiric type. Whether or not this was the offspring of a rude ancestry, according to the tradition given by later Roman writers, a tradition which, I am inclined to think, furnishes the most plausible explanation for Lucilius' apparent fall from grace, satire certainly had no higher guardian than a *musa pedestris*, and laid no sound claim to nobility of birth.² *Satira tota nostra est*, says Quintilian. Yet in Horace's day it is evident that the admirers of Lucilian satire gave it a Greek ancestry. It was begotten, they said, of Old Comedy, and its salt had the true Attic flavor. This claim Horace meets half-way. "Lucilius is the faithful disciple of the writers of the Old Comedy in this one respect, viz., aggressive, censorious wit",³ but unlike those writers, he was no poet.⁴

This apparently harsh conclusion is one with which Lucilius himself might well have agreed. His satire had to do with the

¹ Cf. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, pp. 218 sqq.; Tcherniaef, *Des Traces de Térence dans Ovide, Horace et Tite Live*, Kazan, 1900.

² The question of the origin of Roman satire is one with which we are not directly concerned, but the backward swing of the pendulum from the radical views of Leo and Hendrickson may be seen in the recent articles by Webb, *On the Origin of Roman Satire*, in *Class. Phil.* VII, and Knapp, *The Sceptical Assault on the Roman Tradition Concerning the Dramatic Satire*, in *A. J. P.* XXXIII (1912), pp. 125 sqq.

³ Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XXI (1900), p. 125.

⁴ Note *poetae* in l. 1 and the complete disavowal of poetic qualities for Lucilius in ll. 57 sqq.

miscellaneous concerns of daily life, the food for the tittle-tattle of barber-shops and public fountains, as Marx expresses it, when commenting on the Lucilian verse :

multis indu locis sermonibus concelebrarunt. (l. 970).

Here we meet the significant word *sermones*, which Lucilius uses of his satires in l. 1039 :

cuius vultu ac facie, ludo ac sermonibus nostris.

In this latter line the word is combined with *ludus*, a noun by which the writer suggests that the products of his pen are but the amusement of idle hours. In performances of this sort it may well have seemed to Lucilius that there was no need of the *limae labor et mora*, the careful attention to form and finish, so characteristic of Terence. Horace himself took a different view. He too writes *sermones*, he too amuses himself with his pen (*haec ego ludo*, Serm. I. 10, 37), but he holds that even in this humble sphere writing is worth while only when it is well done, and Lucilius, he boldly claims, was too lazy to write well :

piger scribendi ferre laborem
scribendi recte.

The attitude of Lucilius toward his craft may be illustrated by two interesting passages in Cicero :

(a) Nec vero ut noster Lucilius, recusabo, quo minus omnes mea legant. Utinam esset ille Persius ! Scipio vero et Rutilius multo etiam magis ; quorum ille indicium reformidans, Tarentinis ait se et Consentinis et Siculis scribere (De Fin. 1. 3, 7).

(b) Nam ut C. Lucilius, homo et doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat, neque se ab indoctissimis neque a doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse, de quo etiam scripsit " Persium non curo legere ", hic fuit enim, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus, " Laelium Decumum volo ", quem cognovimus virum bonum et non inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium : sic ego . . . (Orator 2. 6, 25).

Thus Lucilius used to declare that he wrote for the average man, neither the great scholar nor the ignorant lout. His words were addressed to the Consentini, the Tarentines and Sicilians, who were unfamiliar with the refinements of the Latin tongue, rather than to such cultivated and learned men as Persius, Scipio or Rutilius.¹ It is to these *litterati* that Cicero would himself

¹ Cf. Marx's commentary on Lucilius, 592-596.

have appealed, and it was precisely to these that Terence did address himself, for it was within the select intellectual circle of Scipio Africanus the Younger—the same Scipio who was later to be the friend of Lucilius—that the poet composed his artistic comedies. So completely was the urbanity of his noble friends assimilated, that it became a matter of common gossip that the plays were really written, wholly or in part, by Scipio himself or Laelius.¹

The defects which Horace finds in Lucilius are very similar to those which he discovers in Plautus. I have elsewhere² pointed out that the striking differences between Plautus and Terence in style, form and material are largely due to the presence of a large native element in Plautine comedy. Similarly, it might be urged that the excessive discursiveness and curious irregularities of Lucilian satire may be due to the loose character of the more miscellaneous, and perhaps dramatic, *satura* which it supplanted. It might be argued that this dramatic *satura* belonged to *rudis et Graecis intacti carminis*,³ and that Lucilian satire, even if animated by the censorious spirit of Old Comedy and otherwise *Graecis tactum*, was yet in close touch with this native element. Certainly the *character Lucilianus*, as contrasted with the Terentian *elegantia*, lends considerable plausibility to the traditional view that poetic satire is an outgrowth from a native inartistic type.⁴

¹ Cf. Cic. ad Att. 7. 3, 10, Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi; Quintilian, X. 1, 99, licet scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur. See too the prologue to the Adelphoe, 15.

² In an edition of the Andria of Terence, Introd., p. xxviii.

³ Serm. I. 10, 66. It seems almost necessary, when citing this much-debated verse, to state what interpretation is accepted for *auctor*. I take the passage to mean: 'let us grant that Lucilius was more polished than would be the composer of a crude kind of poetry, still untouched by the Greeks'. The poetry of Lucilius is not *rude carmen*, it is not unaffected by the Greeks. Lucilius himself is learned in Greek literature and imports the spirit of Old Comedy into Latin. He is the *inventor* (l. 48) of a new type, but he cannot be wholly free from Greek influence. I see no real inconsistency between this and the beginning of Serm. I. 4, as does Knapp in A. J. P. XXXIII (1912), p. 144.

⁴ The indirect, yet possible, connection between Lucilian satire and the comedy of Caecilius and Plautus, through a common *mimic* element, is shown graphically by Marx in the chart at the end of Vol. I. 2 of his *Der Mimus*. It may not be amiss to recall here the commonly rejected statement of Lydus (De Magistratibus 1, 41) about Rhinthon, ὃς ἐξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρῶτως κωμωδίαν· ἐξ οὗ πρῶτος λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς Δουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἡρώικοις ἔπεσιν ἐκωμύδησε.

However this may be, Horace is very severe in his criticism of the formal side of both Lucilius and Plautus. The satirist had no more right to be careless than the dramatist. It is easy to scribble upon commonplace themes, but mere scribbling has no merit and admits of no justification. This is the mistake which, as Horace explains in his Epistle to Augustus,¹ the would-be writer of comedies often makes. Seeing that his subjects are taken from daily life, he thinks they can be handled with ease, whereas they really demand more laborious care, because we are less likely to excuse mistakes.

This principle is just as applicable to satire as it is to comedy, and so we realize once more the forcefulness of the effective comparison drawn in Horace's fourth satire between the two literary spheres—a *comparatio* which, far from being *parum apta*, is eminently significant and *aptissima*.

H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH.

¹ Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniae minus.

(Ep. II. 1, 168 sqq.)

V.—FIVE GREEK MUMMY-LABELS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK.

1. Metropolitan Museum, 1235, mummy-label, wood, 10.8 × 7.3 cm., inscribed crosswise in uncial letters, perforated at the top; on each side near the top is a notch.

Πλῆνι ἐτῶν Λξ' = Πλήνις (ἐβίωσεν) ἐτῶν ξ' (= 60)

Πλῆνι = Πλήνις or Πλήνιος, the final *s* of the nominative or the *os* of the genitive being omitted.¹ This name occurs frequently in Le Blant² who says,³ "Πλήνις peut être décomposé en p-ren (= len): celui du nom (sacré)". With this compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 41 Nachtrag, "Etwa Plinius?"

In this label we have both ἐτῶν and Λ, the sign for ἐτῶν.

2. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1130, mummy-label, wood, 11 × 6 cm., rectangular, inscribed lengthwise on both sides in Greek letters, one side in uncials, the other in semi-uncials, with corners at left end rounded, perforated at the same end.

1. Πκῦρις Βῆσιος Σεπνούθ(ης)

2. Πκῦρις Βῆσιος ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος (μητρὸς) Σεπνούθ(ης) ἐβίωσεν αὐτον (sic) α S Παῦνι κε'

The name Πκῦρις is found in Hall⁴ No. 29, with which compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 212 Πκοῦλιν, No. 212 a Πκῦλιν, No. 212 b Πκύλιος, No. 287 Σεπκῦλιν.

Βῆσις is a frequently occurring name.⁵

Σεπνούθ(ης), Σεπνούθ(ης) occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen No.

¹ For the omission compare Spiegelberg Eigennamen (= Aegyptische und Griechische Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten der Römischen Kaiserzeit, Leipzig, 1901) No. 11 Ἀπολλωνι, No. 73 b Θαρησι, No. 105 b Καλεσηρι, No. 116 Κελεσησι, No. 330 Ταρησαι.

² Tablai Égyptiennes, Revue Archéologique, N. S. vol. xxviii (1874) and vol. xxix (1875), Πλήνις No. 9-12, 14-18, 30, 57, 84; Πληνίς No. 13; Σεπλήνις No. 26-28; Σεπλήνιος No. 25. Cf. also Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 213 Πλήνις, No. 213 a Πλήνιος, No. 288 Σεπλήνις, and page 56 the Coptic ΠΑΗΝΕ.

³ Vol. xxviii, p. 390.

⁴ H. R. Hall, Greek Mummy-Labels in the British Museum, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1905, pp. 13, 48, 83, 115, 159.

⁵ H. F. Allen, Two Mummy-Labels in the Carnegie Museum, Annals of the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh, Pa., vol. viii, No. 2, 1912.



1



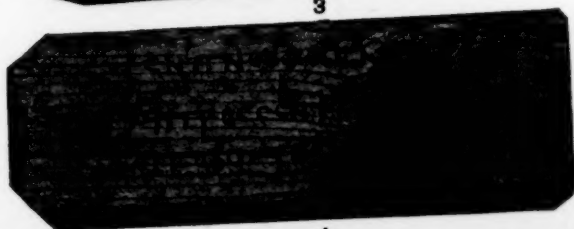
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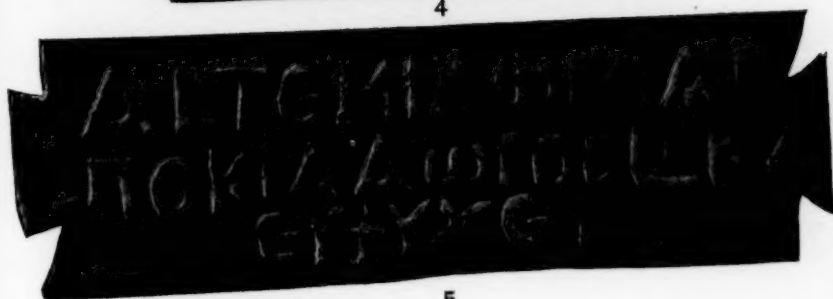
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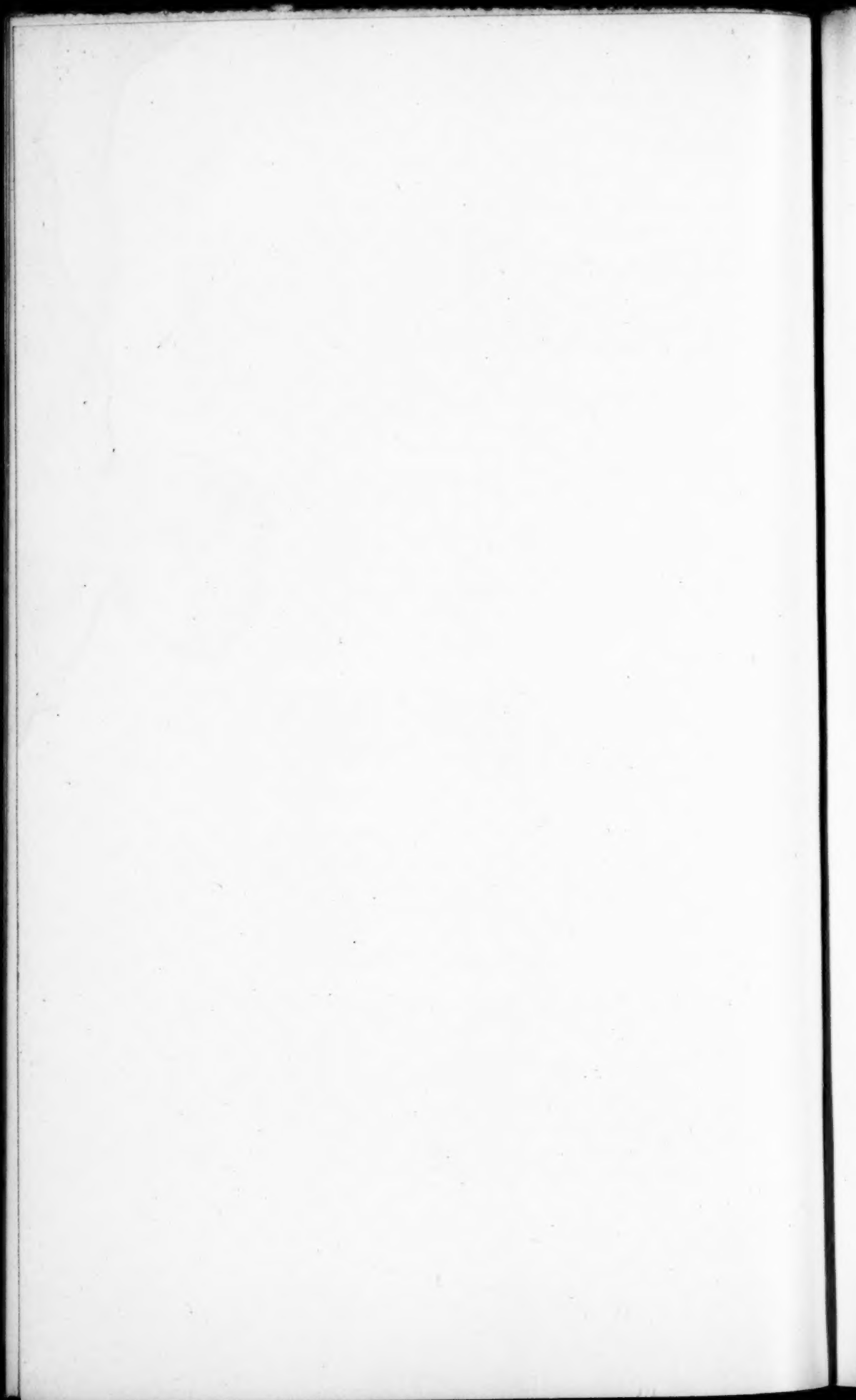
3



4



5



291 Σεπνούθης, No. 291a Σεπνούθη, No. 291a Σεπνούθου, Krebs¹ No. 11 μητρὸς Σεπνούθης, No. 27 μητρὸς Σεπνούθου. In Milne,² p. 82, No. 9367, the name occurs as Σεπνούτι(ος).³ Σεπνούθης,⁴ the Demotic T3-šrj-t-n-p3-ntr, a compound of the feminine prefix sen (full form tsen) and p-nuter = the god, signifies "the daughter of the gods", but this name "has no general monotheistic meaning, but marks the special local god. It was not till the Christian period that προυτε received the meaning "God" in its fullest sense". In label No. 4 below we have the masculine form of the name, Ψεπνούθης = the son of the god.

'Απὸ Νήσου 'Απολλιναριάδος, according to Wessely,⁵ signifies the place of birth of Σεπνούθης. Its exact position is uncertain, although it is known from the labels that it was in the Panopolite Nome.

After ἐβίωσεν this label plainly reads αὐτον, which, like αἰδῶν in Krebs No. 21, must be considered a mistake for ἐτῶν.⁶ The number of years lived is omitted; for the date, αS Παῦνι κε' (=first year, Payni 25), refers not to the number of years which Πκῦρις⁷ lived, but to the day on which he died, i. e. the twenty-fifth of the month Payni (the second month of summer) of the first year of the reigning emperor whose name was not given, either by mistake or because it seemed superfluous.⁸

The sign which follows α, S, stands for ἐτῶν. It is the form always⁹ used when it follows the numeral-letter. When the sign precedes, it takes the form L; for, in Le Blant No. 5 (Sλς), "where the form S precedes the numeral, it may be the virgula which the ancients superposed on numbers".

¹ Fritz Krebs, Griechische Mumienetiketten aus Aegypten, Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, vol. xxxii, 1894, pp. 36 ff.

² J. G. Milne, Greek Inscriptions. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, vol. xviii, Oxford, 1905.

³ Compare the Coptic Tshenoute, Spiegelberg Eigennamen, pp. 56 and 29.

⁴ Spiegelberg Eigennamen, pp. 28 B and 41*.

⁵ K. Wessely, Holztäfelchen der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, vol. v. Wien, 1892, p. 15. "Dass ἀπό in dem Sinne von "gebürtig aus" gebraucht ist, erhellt aus dem beständigen Gebrauche der Papyrus und unseren Holztäfelchen (No. 4), das Πονπλιανὸς Φιλαδελφίτης bietet".

⁶ Other variations for ἐτῶν are Le Blant No. 5 and 29 ετον, No. 55 ετο, No. 18 ετην, No. 28 ἐτη. Cf. Spiegelberg Eigennamen, Tafel xxix, No. 94 ἐτῶν, beneath which is written ετον.

⁷ Cf. Krebs No. 22.

⁸ Krebs, p. 41.

⁹ Revillout, Revue Égyptologique, vol. vii, p. 29, No. 6.

3. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1131, mummy-label, wood, 13.5×5 cm., tapering to 4.1 cm., deeply incised in uncial letters lengthwise, perforated. On the other side the label is inscribed in Demotic letters which are almost obliterated.¹

Σενπητούθης Σούλιος μητρὸς Ταφιώμιος

Σενπητούθης is a compound of the feminine prefix *sen* and *πητούθης*, cf. *Σενπνούθης* above. Neither the simple *Πητούθης* nor its compound occurs in the books at hand.

Σούλιος occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen, No. 319 = the Demotic *sur*.

Ταφιώμιος (also Ταπιώμιος, see Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 49*, No. 342), = the (woman) of the river, or possibly the (woman) of the Fayum or the (woman) of Arsinoe, is found in the indices of the Berliner Urkunden.

4. Metropolitan Museum, 10. 130. 1132, mummy-label, wood, 15×5.2 cm., inscribed lengthwise, one side in uncial Greek letters, the other in Demotic,² corners rounded, perforated.

Ψενπνούθης Κολλούθου μητρὸς Σενψενθμεσιώτος ἀπὸ Βορπαή

Ψενπνούθης is found in Krebs No. 79 and Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 436. It is the masculine form of *Σενπνούθης* of label No. 2 described above and = the Demotic *psen-p-nuter* = the son of the god (= the Coptic Shenoute).

Κολλούθου (Κολλούθης) is found in Krebs No. 2, 56, 74 Κολλούθου, No. 13 Κολλούθης, Le Blant No. 83, Milne No. 9392, p. 89, Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 120, 121a, Spiegelberg Demot. Ins.,³ No. 9392, p. 84. It is for the Demotic *K3lud*. In Revillout No. 14 and Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 121 the nominative appears as

¹Dr. Wilhelm Spiegelberg of Strassburg writes, The Demotic inscription "ist zum grössten Teil unleserlich. Glücklicherweise ist aber hinter 'dem Herrn von Abydos' in Zeile drei von den Eigennamen noch erhalten 'T-schen-p-nute. Sohn des Sulis'. Danach ist der griechische Text sicher so zu lesen, *Σενπνούθης Σούλιος μητρὸς Ταφιώμιος*. Damit erhalten Sie gut bekannte ägyptische Namen". *Σενπητούθης* seems, however, to be the reading of the incised Greek letters of the label, probably by mistake in cutting.

²Dr. Spiegelberg has translated the Demotic as follows:

Seine Seele wird dem Osiris-Sokaris, dem grossen Gotte,
dem Herrn von Abydos, folgen, P-schen-p-nute, Sohn des Klludj,
Seine Mutter (heisst) T-schen-p-schen-te-mesjo.

³Spiegelberg Demot. Ins. = Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Die Demotischen Inschriften. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire vol. xvi.

Κολλούθος.¹ Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 122, 122 a, Κολλῶθις, Κολλῶθιος give the feminine form of the same name, and No. 432 Ψενκολλῶθις gives the feminine form compounded with the masculine prefix = Psen-Kllaud.

Σενψενθμεσιῶτος is a double compound of the feminine prefix, the masculine prefix and the frequently occurring name Θμεσιῶς (of which we have the variants Τμοσιῶς, Μησιῶς), the name of a goddess of birth. The form Ψενθμεσιῶς occurs Spiegelberg Eigennamen No. 431, and the form Ψεντμεσιῶς No. 431 a, p. 63*.

Ἀπό Βομπαή. In the labels the full form for this is ἀπὸ κώμης Βομπαή τοῦ Πανοπολείτου νόμου (cf. above label No. 2, ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος). Βομπαή was probably identical with Sohag, but the meaning of the name is unexplained by the Demotic equivalent.²

5. Metropolitan Museum, 11. 155. 5, mummy-label, cloth, attached to the foot of a mummy-case of brown cloth, 17.5 × 7 cm., notched at the four corners, inscribed lengthwise in raised gold letters. The mummy is assigned to "about 100 A. D. Meir".

Ἀρτεμιδώρα Ἀρποκρᾶ ἄωρος (ἀπέθανε) Λκζ' εὐψύχει

Artemidora (daughter of) Harpokras (died) untimely. (She lived) 27 years. Farewell.

Ἀρτεμιδώρα is found Revillout³ No. 21 = the Demotic Ta-tu-Artumi, the gift of Artemis.⁴ The masculine form of the name, Ἀρτεμιδώρος, also occurs.⁵ The simple Ἀρτεμις and the compound Ψενάρτεμις are found together in Krebs No. 8, Ψενάρτεμις Ἀρτίματος.

Ἀρποκρᾶ ἄωρος (ἀπέθανε).⁶ Ἀρποκρᾶ is gen. of Ἀρποκρᾶς (Spiegelberg, No. 22) = "Horus the child", a "short form from Ἀρποκράτης". Since the necessary books are not at hand references for ἄωρος cannot be given, but Professor Fox, of Princeton, writes, "I have looked through LeBlant, Reich, Hall, Hess, Krebs, Schmidt and others, but find no parallels in labels. The word occurs, however, in the Egyptian Magic Papyri of the third and fourth cent. A. D."

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¹ Cf. also Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 40, the Coptic ΚΟΔΟΥΘΟΥ, and a Ptolemaic Καλούσης for Klud.

² Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 66*, No. 488.

³ Revue égyptologique, vol. vii, p. 35.

⁴ Cf. Spiegelberg Eigennamen, p. 5* = (Te)-te-artami = whom Artemis has given.

⁵ Spiegelberg Eigennamen, No. 30.

⁶ Reading suggested by Professor D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University.

VI.—REPETITION IN THE ARGONAUTICA OF APOLLONIUS.

A conspicuous feature of Homeric style is the repetition of verses. Not only are passages repeated, but certain stock lines and couplets. The amount of repetition in the Iliad and the Odyssey has been carefully measured by C. E. Schmidt in his *Parallel-Homer oder Index aller homerischen Iterati in lexicakalischer Anordnung* (Göttingen, 1885). He finds (p. VIII) that 1804 verses occur together 4730 times and that if slight variations are neglected there are 2118 verses which occur 5612 times. Should all recurring verses and recurring parts of verses be removed from the poems, the number of verses would be reduced by 16,000, more than the bulk of the Iliad, leaving 12,000, i. e., approximately the whole of the Odyssey. Comp. A. J. P. VI 399.

Since the Homeric poems exercised a great influence upon subsequent Greek epic, the question has naturally been asked whether in the epic of Apollonius and Quintus there is much repetition. A general answer in the negative has been made in the case of both poets (Wellauer, *Apollonius II.* 380; Paschal *A Study of Quintus of Smyrna*, p. 36).

In this paper an attempt is made to measure the extent of repetition in Apollonius and then to make comparisons with Homer. An examination of the *Argonautica* reveals surprisingly few repeated verses, and shows that in half of these the repetition was deliberate, whereas in the case of the others the wide separation of the verses may mean that the repetition was unobserved by the poet.

The cases of conscious repetition may first be considered. In I. 703 ss. Hypsipyle gives Iphinoe a message for the Argonauts; in vv. 712 ss. the message is delivered. The coincident passages are as follows:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 705 | ὄφρα τί οἱ δῆμοιο ἔπος θυμῆρες ἐνίσπω· |
| | καὶ δ' αὐτοὺς γαίης τε καὶ ἄστεος, αἱ κ' ἐθέλωσιν, |
| | κέκλεο θαρσαλέως ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. |
| 714 | ἐνίσπη |
| | ἐθέλητε |
| | κέκλεται αὐτίκα νῦν ἐπιβαινέμεν εὐμενέοντας. |

In III. 409 ss. Aeetes speaks to Jason, but the report of the speech by Jason contains only one verse which is repeated.

- 409 δοῖώ μοι πεδίον τὸ 'Αρήιον ἀμφινέμονται
ταύρω χαλκώποδε, στόματι φλόγα φυσῖόντες.
495 φῆ δὲ δὴ πεδίον τὸ 'Αρήιον ἀμφινέμεσθαι
..... φυσῖόντας.

The content of other verses in the speech of Aeetes is repeated in different words and phrases. A third case of the same kind occurs in Jason's report of the words of the ἡρῶσσαι in IV. 1347 ss. Here v. 1358 is an exact repetition of 1323:

ἡρῶσσαι, Λιβύης τιμήφοροι ἡδὲ θύγατρες,

of which the first three words also appear in v. 1309. V. 1354, except for the pronoun, reproduces v. 1328. These three are all that occur in related speeches. In other passages Apollonius has avoided repetition. Thus vv. 1313-4 of Bk. IV.:

αἱ δὲ σχεδὸν Δῖσόνιδαι
ἔσταν, ἔλον δ' ἀπὸ χερσὶ καρήατος ἡρέμα πέπλον.

are differently given in vv. 1350-1:

ἔσταν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς μάλ' ἐπισχεδόν· ἂν δ' ἐκάλυψαν
πέπλον ἐρυσσάμεναι κούφῃ χερὶ.

Vv. 1325-7 of Bk. IV. are differently given in vv. 1355-6. Again in Bk. I. 804 ss. Hypsipyle tells Jason of the conduct of the Lemnian men, repeating the substance of vv. 610 ss.:

- 801-2 αὐτῇσι δ' ἀπείρονα ληίδα κούραις
δεῦρ' ἄγον.
804 δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπέστνγον, ἐκ δὲ μελάρων,
ἧ ματίῃ εἷξαντες, ἀπεσσεύοντο γυναῖκας·
αὐτὰρ ληιάδεσσι δορικτήταις παρίανον,
σχέτλιοι.
611 δὴ γὰρ κουριδίας μὲν ἀπηνήναντο γυναῖκας·
ἄνδρες ἐχθήραντες, ἔχον δ' ἐπὶ ληιάδεσσι
τρηχὺν ἔρον, ὅς αὐτοὶ ἀγίνεον ἀντιπέρηθεν
Θρηκίην δρῶντες.

Another illustration of the same tendency is to be found in IV. 1106 ss. and 1118 ss.

- 1118 παρθενικὴν μὲν εἶδον ἐοῦσι ποτὶ δώματα πατρὸς
ἐκδώσειν, λέκτρον δὲ σὺν ἀνέρι πορσαίνουσαν
οὐκέτι κουριδίης μιν ἀποτμήξειν φιλότῃτος.
1106 παρθενικὴν μὲν εἶδον ἐπ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ κομίσσαι
ἰθύνω· λέκτρον δὲ σὺν ἀνέρι πορσαίνουσαν
οὐ μιν εἶναι πόσιος νοσφίσσομαι·

The repeated verses noted above, since they occur close together in related passages are cases of deliberate repetition. It is interesting to see that the instances of what is probably unconscious repetition of whole verses are extremely few. The best example is to be found in I. 526-7 and IV. 582-3:

(δόρυ) τό ῥ' ἄνὰ μέσσην
στείραν Ἀθηναίη Δωδωνίδος ἤρμωσε φηγοῦ.

Examples of verses partly coincident are:

- II. 1154 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύνεις δεδαῖσθαι
III. 354 εἰ δὲ καὶ οὐνομα δῆθεν ἐπιθύνεις γενεήν τε
I. 463 Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε μετὰ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἐλίσσεις;
IV. 355 Αἰσονίδη, τίνα τήνδε συναρτύνασθε μενοιμήν
III. 404 δώσω τοι χρύσειον ἀγειν δέρος
IV. 87 " δέ " ἐγὼ "

A very good example is I. 249 and 885:

- 249 εὐχόμεναι νόστοιο τέλος θυμηδὲς ὑπάσσαι.
885 εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσσιν ἀπήμονα νόστον ὑπάσσαι.

Frequently in Homer, speeches are introduced by the same verse. Schmidt, op. cit., p. viii, notes 51 occurrences of the verse:

καὶ μιν (σφεας) φωνήσας . . . προσηύδα (δων).

Similarly stock verses are used to indicate the close of a speech. V. Schmidt, s. vv. ὡς ἔφαθ', ὡς φάτο, etc. Apollonius has avoided apparently with intention such verses, for there is only one such verse repeated, I. 1103 = III. 145:

ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἀσπαστὸν ἔπος γένετ' εἰσαίοντι.

This is a noteworthy departure from Homeric precedent.

There are, however, some introductory verses which differ only slightly from one another:

- II. 885 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰσωνος υἱὸς ἀμηχανέων προσέειπεν
I. 1336 " " " " ἐπιφραδέως "
II. 1134 " " " " " ἐρέεινεν.
I. 294 μελιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν παρηγορέων προσέειπεν.
II. 621 " " παραβλήδην "
IV. 394 " " ὑποδδείσας "
IV. 1317 " " ἀτυζόμενον " —ον
I. 717 ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη πάντεσσι δ' ἐναΐσιμος ἦνδανε μῦθος.
II. 1168 " " " " ἐπίρροθος " μῆτις.

In addition to the certain cases of repetition above noted there are two more which are under the suspicion of some editors.

II. 381 = II. 1017:

μόσσυνας· καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ ἐπώνυμοι ἐνθεν ἔασιν.

Brunck and Wellauer have rejected it, the latter remarking that Apollonius refrains entirely from such repetitions.

II. 1186 = IV. 348:

εἶτε μετ' ἀφνειὴν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομενῶιο.

a verse uniformly rejected from Bk. IV by the editors.

The meagre collection of verses repeated without the least change, excluding the two under suspicion, amounts to three. With the verses in which a slight change is necessary, the total may be brought up to seven. The Homeric poems which together are a little over four and one half times as long as the Argonautica have 1804 verses which together occur 4730 times. So obvious a characteristic of Homeric style as repetition could not have passed unobserved under the eye of Apollonius, and the certain conclusion is that in the day of the artificial epic, it had come to be regarded as monotonous. The older epic poet was ready to tell again in the same verses what the reader or hearer already knew, the later imitator if he told such a second time told it in different words. There is an evident striving after *ποικιλία* which would not tolerate the frequent recurrence of

ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.

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VII.—FOUR VERSES OF THE PHOENISSAE (845-848).

Almost fifty emendations have been proposed, and the interpretations are even more numerous; but I am inclined to think that the text is sound, barring a single *o* which has supplanted an *a*, and that the correct explanation has not yet been offered. The whole difficulty revolves round the beginning of verses 846 and 847. What does *ἐξορμίσαι πόδα* and *ἀπήνη πούς τε* mean? Before we can answer this question satisfactorily we must visualize the scene and make one small correction in the text.

Teiresias, led by his daughter, has just entered. Bidding her conduct him carefully, he turns to Menoeceus and asks how much farther he must go before he arrives at his destination, for he is almost exhausted and can proceed only with great difficulty. We have sufficient data here, I think, for a restoration and explanation of Creon's words:

θάρσει· πέλας γάρ, Τειρεσία, φίλοισι σοῖς
ἐξορμίσαις ἂν πόδα· λαβοῦν δ' αὐτοῦ, τέκνον·
ὥς πᾶσ' ἀπήνη πούς τε πρεσβύτου φιλεῖ
χειρὸς θυραίας ἀναμένειν κουφίσματα.

The seer has reached the desired goal (*ἐξ*) and can bring his weary foot to its anchorage near his friends. The force of the preposition is similar to that in *ἐκφέρει* (Soph. Ai. 7), which the scholiast explains by *εἰς τέλος ἐξάγει*. Cp. O. C. 98 *ἐξήγαγ' εἰς τόδ' ἄλσος*. The mistake in our manuscripts is due not solely to incorrectness of division (*ἐξορμισαῖς ἂν* becoming *-σαι σαν*, then *-σαι σον*, since Creon is addressing the seer, and *σοῖς* follows); but similarity of sound is partly responsible for the corruption, as, for example, "only a tall stoic could" might become "only a Tolstoi could". The metaphor in *ἐξορμίσαις ἂν πόδα* is continued in *πᾶσ' ἀπήνη πούς τε*, and all ambiguity is avoided by the employment of *κουφίσματα* at the end of the sentence; for the poet has reference to *πλωταῖς ἀπηναισι* (Fr. adesp. 142), *ναῖαν ἀπήνην* (Med. 1123), *ναῖον ὄχημα* (I. T. 410), *ναυτίλων ὀχήματα* (Aesch. Prom. 468), not to a 'mule car', as those who consider the text sound generally interpret. When a ship comes to its anchorage, it is wont

to be lightened of its cargo (κουφισθειςῶν νεῶν, Polyb. 20.5.11, τῷ ταχυναντοῦντι κουφίσαντες, Thuc. 6.34); and when the foot of Teiresias comes to its mooring, the burden, that is, the body, must be partly sustained (lightened) by the aid of another's hand (ἀνεκουφίσθην δέμας, Hipp. 1392), for he is too weak to bear the weight himself, cannot walk κούφοις ποσὶ (Pind. O. 13.164). Hence Creon says to the soothsayer's guide: κουφιεῖς χερὶ (Soph. Ant. 43), ἐπικούφιζ' (Ai. 1411), πρόσλαβε κουφίσας (Tr. 1025), οὐ λαβοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ . . . κουφίσματα. The girl had been walking πάροιθε, leading him by the hand; now she must help to hold him up, for he cannot stand ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. The seer is out of breath (πνεῦμ' ἄθροισον, 851), is on the verge of collapse (σύλλεξαι σθένος, 850), and his frail body requires the support of his daughter's arm. But his foot is now, so to speak, in the roadstead by his friends, like a ship that has had a long voyage, laboring hard in rough seas, and it can now rest in the harbor in peace. Cf. Theogn. 1273 f. ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν | ἦκά γ' ἐνωρμίσθην. Similarly Teiresias is ἐν τῷ λιμένι πέλας φίλοισι.

If the remark of the scholiast is true (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξώρμисαι, τὸ ὅ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ), the reading of L, which is adopted by Liddell and Scott, is to be preferred. But this, while it does not affect the sense materially, does not seem so natural; and the testimony of all the other manuscripts is in favor of the short vowel.

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VIII.—SOME FINNO-TURKISH PARALLELS.

In Simonyi's excellent work on the Hungarian language, half a page¹ is taken up with Finnic words that are said to lack Turkish cognates. At the beginning of the list we find "die Zahlwörter". It ought to be pointed out that the Finnic and Turkish numerals are not so entirely unlike as to make a connection impossible.

The original Finnic stem of 1 is not easy to make out from the widely differing forms given by Szinnyi²; but a good representative seems to be Lappish *oktâ*. In most of the related tongues the *k* is weakened or lost, as in Ostiak *it*. Thus it is plain that *okt-* might easily develop into **vet-* or **vit-*, with initial *v* as in one of the Mordwin forms. In Turkish, 1 is *bir*. Interchange of *r* with *t* or *d* is too common in Finnish, as well as various other European languages,³ to need any discussion.

Hungarian has often changed *k* to *h*; but this is not found before a front vowel: *két* (2) and *húsz* (20) are directly related to Finnish *kaht-* (2). As every *k* becomes a fricative in Germanic, it is clear that such a development could have occurred in a dialect related to Hungarian. If we assume the variant **het-*, combined with a *k-* suffix, we come fairly close to Turkish *eki-* and *iki* (2). Treated as a Latin stem, **hetk-* would make in the Romanic languages **ek-*. I do not undertake to theorize about the meaning of the *k-* suffix here assumed; it seems sufficient to mention the fact that 1 is formed with *k-* suffixes in several Finnic languages. It is noteworthy that Finnic 1 and 2 are very similar; possibly 2 comes from **okokt-* (1+1). If this is so, the *t* is presumably a demonstrative, like our *th* in *both*.

The best Finnic representative of 3 is apparently Mordwin *kolmo*, though the *r* of Hungarian *három* may be more primitive than *l*. In Cheremis there is no visible trace of *l* or *r*, while Votjak 3 ends in *ñ* (palatalized *n*) representing *nm* < *lm*. In

¹ Die Ungarische Sprache, 43, Strassburg, 1907.

² Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft, 107, Leipzig, 1910.

³ Jespersen, Fonetik, 444, København, 1899.

Turkish *l* is sometimes lost before a consonant: Osmanli *getir-* (bring) corresponds to dialectal *gellir-*, the causative of *gel-* (come). We may therefore assume that **hol-* < **holm-* could be further reduced to **ho-* or **hu-* before a consonant-suffix. Turkish 3 is *ütš*; it has dialectal variants beginning with *u*. The *ü* may be due to a former front vowel of the suffix; compare the regressive harmony in Turkish *sen* (thou), gen. *senin*, dat. *sana*, acc. *seni*, abl. *senden*, loc. *sende*.

In native Osmanli words, initial nasals are extremely rare, but they probably existed in former times: *bin-* (ride) and *bin* (1000) correspond to dialectal *min-* and *min*. We may therefore suppose that *dört* or *tört* (4) once began with *n*. It is interesting to note that the Tungûs forms of 4 have initial *n* as well as initial *d*.¹ All of the Finnic words for 4 begin with *n* or *ñ*, the Finnish form being *neljä*.

Turkish *beş* (5) is nearly the same as Finnish *viisi* (5). The Finnic root seems to be **wet-*, whence by contraction Hungarian *öt*.

Mordwin *koto* is an excellent representative of Finnic 6, the radical vowel becoming closer in Finnish *kuusi* and opener in Hungarian *hat*. This last is remarkably similar to Turkish *altı* (6), in which *ö* is a close velar vowel often transcribed with *i* or *y* in European books. The Finnic root was perhaps **okwet-* (1+5).

In Finnic 7 is, like 100 and 1000, of Aryan origin; 8 and 9 are subtractive, based on various words meaning 10. Turkish *on* (10) may well be the same word as the suffixes of Hungarian *ötven* (50) and *hatvan* (60). For the loss of *v* or *w*, compare Osmanli *ol-* (be) beside dialectal *bol-*. Another Finnic 10-suffix is Permic *-mas*, nearly the same as that of Turkish *allmış* (60).

Simonyi's list has at least three other words that deserve notice: Hungarian *él-* (live), *fél-* (fear), *világos* (bright). Why can they not be related to the Turkish verbs *ir-* (exist), *belinle-* (fear) based on the noun *belin*, and *balak-* (shine)?

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¹ Simonyi, Ung. Spr., 19.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

XAPITEΣ Friedrich Leo zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht.
Berlin, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1911. 490 pp. and
8 plates. 16 marks.

The criticism—and the epitaph—of the average honorary volume is fairly summed up in *laudandus tamen in partibus*, as Quintilian said of Ovid's poetry, 'good in parts', as the bashful curate said of his boiled egg. But this handsome collection of twenty-one studies by former students of Professor Leo, prefaced by a graceful dedication in Greek elegiacs, is not average in any sense. The studies all command attention, and in their range and variety reflect the versatility of the brilliant scholar for whom they were undertaken. The limitations of a single review—and of a single reviewer—naturally preclude an adequate discussion of all the material presented. I must, therefore, content myself with an occasional comment while surveying the work rapidly as a whole.

Hermann Schultz's article, *Die Georgica in Vergils Stilentwicklung* (pp. 359-370), deserves more than the passing mention I am giving it here, especially as I am not altogether in sympathy with this type of investigation. Kurt Stavenhagen (8-44) works out at length the development of Plato in his theory of Ideas. Textual criticism and interpretation of Menander are well represented by W. Vollgraff's *Menandrea* (55-75) and K. F. W. Schmidt's article (45-54) on the *Περικειρομένη*, lines 81-104. H. Sjögren (279-296) takes up some of the many difficulties in the text of Cicero's letters to Atticus, and T. Bögel (297-321) discusses the second and third books of the *De Legibus* from the point of view of their composition and style. Hans Wegehaupt (146-169) gives the text of Plutarch's *Πότερον ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ χρησιμώτερον*, accompanied by a complete apparatus criticus and a description of the thirty-five manuscripts. Kurt Hubert (170-187) makes a careful examination of the *Συμποσιακά Προβλήματα*, and finds that this work is purely a literary fiction, although an air of reality is imparted by making some of the interlocutors actual persons, etc. This, in fact, is quite in harmony with the conventions of the antique dialogue. H. Hobein (188-219), editor of the recent Teubner text of Maximus Tyrius, considers the object and significance of the first dissertation. G. Jachmann (249-278) takes up the question of *contaminatio* in the *Poenulus* of Plautus and examines the composition of the play in detail. W. Capelle (220-248) passes in review the references of Olympio-

doros to 'Alexander' — a matter more or less confused by Ideler — and concludes that the author of our extant commentary on the *Meteorologica* of Aristotle was Alexander Aphrodisiensis. H. Jacobson (407-452) has a long article on the formation of nominal stems in Latin and Indo-European. G. Pasquali (113-122) explains and justifies the prooemium of Aratos. W. Crönert (123-145) devotes his attention to Lobon. His article is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the troublesome activity of that Tzetzes of the Alexandrian age. Archaeology and epigraphy are represented by Erich Ziebarth (395-406), *Der Eid vom Kloster Lorch*, P. Jacobsthal (452-465), *Zur Kunstgeschichte der griechischen Inschriften*, and Leo Weber (466-490), *Zur Münzprägung der phrygischen Hierapolis*.

Some years ago Professor Leo himself examined the question whether there was such a thing as subjective elegy in the Alexandrian period and made a strong plea for the affirmative. Since then the matter has not been allowed to rest for any length of time. Jacoby's counterblast for the negative has not been neglected — especially, by his opponents. Undoubtedly he is at his best in this particular discussion, and it would be unfair to minimize the fact that he has done a real service. Nevertheless, I cannot escape the conviction that even here his lucubrations have done quite as much to obscure and agitate as to clarify and settle. The fault lies largely with his own methods as an investigator and reasoner. The occasionally reckless way, for example, in which he mingles argument with mere assertion, his habit of arguing and then assuming, makes the reader chary of accepting any statement, any conclusion the validity of which is derived from sound logical deduction. What Wheeler (cf. *Class. Phil.*, 6, 56f.) has to say — a sane conservative scholar as well as a thorough and conscientious investigator — is much more to the point and much more convincing. Of course, the question is ultimately a matter of probabilities, not of definite ascertainable facts. But, so far as they go, the probabilities are largely in favour of Professor Leo. This is clearly indicated by Max Pohlenz in an excellent article (76-112) which he entitles, *Die Hellenistische Poesie und Philosophie*.

He sketches first of all the sweeping changes which came to Greek life and thought with the Alexandrian age, more especially, as regards the functions, the importance, and the relative position of philosophy and poetry. The great Ionian philosophers had been scholars and investigators, and their chief concern had been τὰ φυσικά, 'Natural Philosophy', as it used to be called in the old college catalogues. Contemporary poetry concerned itself with the problems and results of human experience, and this sphere always remained especially characteristic of poetry. Those days and those men had passed away, and philosophy was largely concerned with other matters and

followed different methods. But even long afterwards, in the Graeco-Roman period, when philosophy and poetry have so many topics in common, it is always philosophy, not poetry, that was the original borrower. This distinction between the two departments was never forgotten. Pohlenz makes this point tolerably clear, and, as we shall see, it has an important bearing upon a later phase of his investigation. In the Alexandrian period philosophy had not only changed in scope but in relative position. For the average man it was far less important than it had once been. The age was cultivated, over-cultivated, if you please. At any rate, the time had come, as sooner or later it always does come, when men had begun to stagger under the burden of their own accumulated devices. The situation then as now brings with it the realization that wealth and power and fame, the conventional prizes of human endeavour, are not worth the price that is exacted for them. After all, the problem of life is happiness and peace, and for the solution of that problem the Alexandrian age turned from philosophy to poetry. The ideal life of the irrevocable past, the Golden Age, was a poetic theme as old as Hesiod; the best and most obvious substitute for it in contemporary existence was the ideal simple life far from the madding crowd. And contemporary poets began more and more to mould and elaborate the poetical tradition of this and similar themes. We may be sure that the *Thalysia* of Theokritos was not the first poem in which the ideal life was treated from the subjective point of view. We cannot prove it definitely, but the chances are, as Pohlenz tries to show, that the type of elegy represented by Tibullus was already in existence. *Mimnermos*, to cite a single instance within the elegy itself, was subjective to the point of polemic. Certainly, too, *Hermesianax* speaks to *Leontion* quite as did *Theognis* to *Kyros*. Thanks to Peripatetic influence *Kallimachos* was deliberately objective, but the influence of *Kallimachos*, large as it is, is not large enough to cover the entire Alexandrian age. It is true, too, that our few surviving references to Hellenistic elegy point to the objective types, but this cannot be made to prove anything more than that the later authors to whom we owe these references generally had practical reasons for choosing this sphere—such as noting a particular version of some story, or the like.

True, the *Thalysia* of Theokritos contains only the subjective-idyllic. The erotic is lacking. But *Mimnermos* was the father of the erotic elegy, and next to the idyllic the most characteristic motive of Alexandrian literature is the erotic. It is useless to insist that the subjective-erotic of *Mimnermos* passed into the erotic epigram. At best, this is a mere assertion. And what becomes of it if we agree with Reitzenstein, as undoubtedly we must, that even in the Alexandrian period there was no hard and fast line between elegy and the epigram in distichs. Even the idyllic cannot be categorically denied to *Mimnermos*.

Thanks to his social position and his consequent attitude towards life he stands apart from all the earlier elegiac poets and has much in common with the average literary man of the Alexandrian age. Indeed, the fleeting glimpse of his life and the themes of his poetry which we get from three distichs of Hermesianax (Athen. 597 f.):

Μίμνερμος δὲ τὸν ἥδὺν ὃς εὗρετο πολλὰν ἀνατλᾶς
ἦχον καὶ μαλακὸν πνεῦμα' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,
καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς· πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πολλὰκι λωτῷ
κημαθεὶς κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἑξαμῆνι,
ἦ δ' ἡχθεὶς¹ Ἑρμοβίον τὸν αἰεὶ βαρὺν ἥδ' ἐφ' Ἐρεκλῆν
ἔχθρὸν μισήσας οἱ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.

A sore heart taught Mimnermos the haunting, sweet refrain,
The sigh, of soft pentameters—the echo of his pain!
At revels with Hexamyes he breathed in mournful mood
His burning love for Nanno, so often vainly wooed.
Again, he fixed his rivals—Hermobios hated worse
Than Pherekles was hated—with bitter shafts of verse—

is curiously suggestive of Propertius as well as of Catullus.

The chances are then, as we already see, that Hellenistic poetry, which felt itself quite the equal of philosophy, found a form fitted for the direct expression of its subjective feelings and views of life.

Much the same story is told if we work backward from the Roman elegy. We have been assured, for instance, that such characteristic topics of the Roman elegy as the idyllic simple life, the complaint of luxury and extravagance, the horror of war, navigation, and similar short cuts to an untimely death, all come directly or indirectly from the diatribes of the philosophers. Obviously this statement has no cogency unless it can be proved that the discussion of these topics began with the philosophers. This cannot be proved. On the contrary, if Pohlenz is correct, this material, as we have already seen, originated with the poets, and wherever philosophy and poetry deal with the same topics the ultimate debtor is always philosophy, not poetry.

The main lines of Pohlenz' discussion in this section of his investigation appear to have been inspired by the well-known article in which Jacoby assists at the birth of the first elegy of Tibullus and describes the entire process—a matter upon which it is sufficiently obvious that neither he nor any other man except the poet himself and during his own lifetime has ever been a competent authority.

It will be remembered that, according to Jacoby, one of the models of this elegy was the second Epode of Horace. Now, of

¹ The passage is corrupt, although the general sense is sufficiently clear. Wilamowitz suggests *ἡρεθε δ'*.

course, no one would dream of denying that Tibullus must have known the second Epode of Horace; for the sake of argument we might even grant that the first elegy of Tibullus indicates that he knew it. But neither has any bearing necessarily on Jacoby's statement that the one served as a model for the other. As the question now stands Jacoby's statement is of no value unless he can show, first of all, that Tibullus never wrote an elegy unless he had a definite model before him. Jacoby assumes this, but the assumption receives no support from any evidence now at our command. Indeed, of all the Roman poets, no one gives so little indication of the use of specific models now existing as does Tibullus. Granting, however, for the sake of argument that Jacoby has proved this assumption, he must then prove that the model in this particular case was the second Epode of Horace. This cannot be done unless it can be shown with reasonable certainty that, so far as Tibullus was concerned, the second Epode was the only available poem dealing subjectively with the idyllic simple life. Now, this is certainly not the case. The *Thalysia* of Theokritos is proof to the contrary. More than that, the *Thalysia* also shows that we cannot dodge the issue by making the conveniently indefinite Gallus responsible for the development of this topic in poetry. And Horace himself really tells the same story. The second Epode, with its sudden surprise at the end, would have been a failure unless the subject with which it deals had been a well-worn theme to contemporary readers as well as to ourselves. In short, the second Epode is in reality a parody. As such, it presupposes not only a familiar but a serious theme. Now, the theme, as Heinze remarks, is distinctly elegiac. The poem itself, except for the end, might have been an elegy. It is the end that explains and, one might say, necessitates the iambic form. In other words, the second Epode of Horace not only presupposes serious poems on the same theme, but poems, certainly elegiac in tone and manner, presumably, therefore, elegiac in form. If so, it is fair to suspect that the erotic element was not absent. The fact that Theokritos did not use the distich for his *Thalysia* and that the erotic motive does not appear in it is no proof that the type of elegy represented by Tibullus and among surviving authors by Tibullus alone, was not already in existence. The same proof, for instance, applied to the *Ἠλακάτη* would show that the epigram with presents was post-Theocritean. But Maass has shown that this was not the case.

The plea of Pohlenz for Philitas as the inventor of the Tibullian type of elegy is not so successful. He does point out, however, that all our testimony, as far as it goes, is to the effect that both by temperament and career Philitas had a decided bias for the psychological and subjective. Of course, the Bittis would have settled all this protracted dispute at once. But

there are no fragments of this work. In fact, practically all that we know of it is to be gathered from two distichs of Hermesianax (Athen. 598 f.) which I subjoin here for the convenience of the reader:

οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλον πολιῆται
 Κῶοι χάλκειον θῆκαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ
 Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν
 ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλήν.

It will be seen that the poet here is unusually unsatisfactory, even for him. Nor is the situation satisfactorily explained by Pohlenz. He thinks that the bronze set up by the Coans represented the poet singing to 'the nimble' Bittis under a plane tree, and that the group, so to speak, was suggested by a famous passage in the book itself. I am not so sure that this is justified by the text of Hermesianax. On the other hand, this interpretation of Pohlenz does not altogether deserve such cavalier criticism as that which is accorded it by Wilamowitz in his 'Mimnermos und Properz'. However that may be, Bittis was the beloved of the poet: we see this from Hermesianax himself and more clearly still from Ovid, *Tristia*, 1, 6, 1:

Nec tantum Clario Lyde dilecta poetae,
 nec tantum Coe Bittis amata suo est,
 pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres,
 digna minus misero, non meliore viro—

from which Pohlenz suspects that Bittis was the wife of Philitas. And what Hermesianax has to say of the Lyde of Antimachos (41-46) as compared with what he says here of Philitas is enough to show that the Bittis was not an ἐπικήδειον. The girl was still alive when her lover sang to her or about her. It is also to be observed that Philitas occupies a place apart from either Mimnermos or Antimachos in the catalogue of Hermesianax. This indicates, according to Pohlenz, that Philitas was accounted the inventor of a specific type of elegy. If so, the process of exclusion might be invoked to strengthen our suspicion that that type was the one with which we are concerned.

However that may be, the only really logical position with regard to this question, it seems to me, is the one which Pohlenz has taken. The question ultimately, as was noted above, is one of probabilities, not of ascertainable facts. The statement, therefore, that there was no such thing as the Tibullian type of elegy in the Alexandrian age is unwarranted by the premises. A categorical statement cannot be derived from probabilities. What Pohlenz has shown—and here he is quite within his rights—is that; all things considered, it is most unlikely that in the Hellenistic period of all others, there was no such thing as a subjective elegy of the idyllic-erotic type, no elegy, so to speak, in which love in a cottage was described by one of the prospective tenants.

One of the most interesting articles in our volume is R. Bürger's *Beiträge zur Elegancia Tibullus* (371-394). His thesis is, in brief, that Tibullus was literally a Caesar in verse, in other words, that he belonged as did Caesar to the Analogists, a school which as early even as the beginning of the Augustan age was already passing out of fashion. Plessis had already had an inkling of the truth in a general way. In his *Histoire de la Poésie Latine* (see A. J. P. XXX 447) he observes that Tibullus in taste if not in fact belonged to the Attic type.

Bürger undoubtedly proves his thesis, but here as elsewhere, his deductions are not always warranted. The result is that his examples are sometimes more convincing than the conclusions he draws from them or than the purposes to which he applies them. For the present, however, I omit any discussion of these and similar matters, as Bürger himself states that only a portion of his investigation is presented.

At the same time, inasmuch as Bürger himself makes no reference to it, I may remark in passing that his discussion is an interesting commentary on one of Jacoby's recent pronouncements, the substance of which is that Tibullus was not a success as an amatory poet and that the reason was because he was incapable of strong feeling. What constitutes a successful amatory poet? And is it true that Tibullus was not a successful amatory poet? And even if we grant that he was not a successful amatory poet what shall we say of the alleged reason—except that it really rests ultimately on the naive assumption that poets express all that they feel and that strength of feeling is measured only by superlatives. Shall we make no allowance for Tibullus' possible reserve as a gentleman and a man of the world, not to mention the fact that the first and most important article of his literary creed is the reserve and simplicity of the classical *μηδὲν ἄγαν*? Such criticism forces one to suspect that its author still has much to learn in the field of literary art. The suspicion is strengthened when we find that he terms Quintilian one of those rhetors whom 'jede Fähigkeit mangelt über die Komposition eines Kunstwerks zu urteilen, weil ihr eigenes Schaffen sich ganz auf die Ausgestaltung der Einzelheiten erstrickt' (Rhein. Mus. 65, 79—cp. 86, 'das Urteil an sich und für uns nicht kompetenter antiker Kritiker'). Rothstein holds the same view (Einleit. Prop., p. xlvii) and, doubtless, there are some others. But this is no help to Jacoby—and no harm to Quintilian.

Kurt Münschner (322-358) subjects Cicero's *Orator*, 140 ff., the famous passage in which the great master of Latin prose rhythm undertakes to set forth the principles of his art, to a rigid cross-examination. His purpose is to exhibit the author's scheme of composition and arrangement but, more especially, to discover his sources and to trace and tabulate the influence of

each. His results are summarized on pp. 356-358 of his article. If they were presented pictorially they would make the Orator, 140 ff. look like a sample-page of Professor Haupt's Polychrome Bible. If Münschner is correct—and presumably he is correct in the main—this account of prose rhythm is a thing of shreds and patches, a Joseph's coat of many colours, here and there interspersed with homespun. The lessons of personal experience and the more or less contradictory statements of various Greek theorists, in some cases of opposing schools, are jumbled together in such a way as to indicate that the compiler never went far enough with his task to harmonize his colours and to produce a logical and intelligible whole.

Here Münschner rests his case. But the secondary results of such an investigation are often as interesting as the purpose for which it was originally undertaken. Quite incidentally, for example, this inquiry throws another illuminating sidelight upon Cicero's methods as a scholar. We knew he was hasty and not altogether thorough, but for anyone, above all for investigators, for those who know by experience the true inwardness of such a piece of patchwork, Münschner's results are a revelation.

Of course, a great artist is not necessarily a great teacher nor even a tolerable teacher, and, in any case, nothing is so difficult to teach others as that which for the teacher himself has become a second nature. It is beyond question, however, that Cicero was, in reality, quite capable of giving a definite idea of his art, and it is equally certain that the best method for him to adopt would have been to confine himself strictly to the one greatest living authority on the subject. But it is characteristic of him—and, to a certain extent, of his times—that he should choose instead to indite an account which, to take a hint from old Coryat, is strongly suggestive of 'Crudities hastily gobbled up in five days travells' in the 'literature' of prose rhythm as taught in the leading Greek universities. We see now more plainly than ever why it was that Cicero himself was never quite clear with regard to his own theory. This was one of the by-products of Zielinski's great investigation ten years ago (see A. J. P. XXV 453-463), and, thanks to Münschner, we are now more than ever convinced that the secret of Cicero's prose rhythm must be learned, if learned at all, from Cicero's practice, not from Cicero's theory.

Our volume opens (1-7) with a short but sympathetic and convincing study by Ewald Bruhn. His theme is the contradictory reports of Xenophon and Plato regarding the character of Menon. According to Xenophon he was a besotted fool, if not actually a knave and a traitor. According to Plato he was merely a young man with considerable vanity—natural enough, in view of his good looks, position and popularity—a vivid mind, an enthusiasm for the new rhetoric which sometimes led him to argue just for the pleasure of it, and an impatience of more or less pompous conven-

tionalities which occasionally spurred him on to express views not to be taken seriously. In short, he was one of those persons who for various reasons like to stand on their heads, so to speak, and insist that the rest of the world is wrong side up. All which did him no harm so far as Socrates was concerned—a humorous and a sympathetic soul, as well as a wonderful judge of men. But Xenophon—and unfortunately for Menon Xenophon was often standing by at the time—was not a sympathetic soul. He was a conventional soul and, therefore, easily shocked, especially when he desired it—and in this particular case it is not improbable that he did desire it. At any rate, it is worthy of note that he admired Klearchos almost as extravagantly as Klearchos detested Menon. Then, too, the 'Attic Bee'—like the plain honey bee, and bees in general—had no keen sense of humour. And, thanks to our pedagogical traditions, the 'Attic Bee' has been buzzing in our ears ever since Menon was paradoxical for the sake of remaining in the lime-light.

Of course, all this has been hard on the poor fellow and we sympathize with him. But his fate ought to warn us never to be anything but absolutely literal and truthful in public. At that very moment some one may be lurking among our auditors who is preparing a book with us in it, a book for the use of school children two thousand years hence. As one of Menon's own distant connections has said, 'You never can tell!'

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

The Oxford English Dictionary: See—Senatory (Volume VIII).

By HENRY BRADLEY. Th—Thyzle (Volume IX). By

Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Sleep—Sniggle (Volume IX).

By W. A. CRAIGIE. Senatory—Several (Volume VIII).

By HENRY BRADLEY. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1912.

The past year has seen published four more quarterly Parts of the Oxford Dictionary, containing volumes VIII and IX, as above. The Part issued on January 2, 1912, begins with the noun *See*, seat, chiefly used of a bishop's *See*, which fills a column and a half. This is followed by the common verb *See*, OE. *seon* (*seah*, *sáwon* and *sægon*, *ge-sewen*), which, with its phraseological combinations, fills over fifteen columns, with examples from *Béowulf* on. 'Three distinct Indogermanic roots of the form **segu* are commonly recognized.' The form used in gaming, as in poker, is duly registered; see quotations dated 1885,

H. Jones in *Encycl. Brit.* XIX, s. v. *poker*, for literal use, and 1890 *Sat. Rev.* and *Spectator* for metaphorical use. *Seed* and its compounds follow with nearly twelve columns, not omitting the adjective *seedy*, and the obsolete *secge*, surf, of obscure origin, though perhaps identical with OE. *secg* as in *gārsecg*, ocean. Some other common words in this Part, to which reference may be made, are *seek*, *seem*, both personal and impersonal, *seely*, *seemly*, *seer*, *see-saw*, as in whist, with example from Hoyle (1746), *seethe*, *seidlitz*, *seize*, *selah* (Hebrew), supposed to be a musical or liturgical direction of some kind, perhaps indicating pause or rest, which is as near as we can get to a definition, *selcouth*, *seld* and *seldom*, which carry us back to the oldest English. The phrase *seldom or ever* is explained as by confusion of 'seldom if ever' and 'seldom or never'; *seldseen*, *select*, *selenic*, and other terms connected with the moon; *self*, on which we have the note, 'In Goth. and Scandinavian the primary sense (= L. *ipse*) is the only one that exists, and which, with its compounds, fills over fifty columns; *sell* and its phrases, *semantic*, and *semasiology*, both dealing with the meaning of words, and *sematology*; a long article treats *semi*-, which, with its compounds and derivatives, covers thirty columns: a few compounds of *semper*-, with *senate* and its derivatives, close this interesting and valuable Part, which, though but a single section, will well repay perusal. The Part for April 1, 1912, Th—Thyzle, is of importance for its treatment of the two spirants þ and ð. The former was very frequent, 'being the regular etymological representative of Indo-Eur. *t* initially or after the stressed vowel', the latter being 'a later development (c. 700 in English) from the breath sound between vowels or voiced consonants, as in the parallel *v* and *z* from *f* and *s*', seen in the demonstratives and in the pronouns of the second person singular, the only words in English with initial ð'. In the same group of words in the cognate Teutonic languages þ has passed through ð into *d*, seen also in English *thatch*, *think*, *thing*, *thick*, *thunder*, *three*. Compare in the *Ormulum* the change of initial þ to *t* by assimilation to a preceding dental (*t. d. s.*). In the Runic alphabet (the so-called *futhorc*, or Scand. a. b. c.), 'the breath spirant had to itself a symbol þ or þ (called *thorn*); but in the earliest known OE. writings in the Roman alphabet this was represented by *th*, the voiced spirant being often represented by *d* (ð) (sometimes by *th*)'. The whole initial article on *Th* deserves careful study by the interested reader. The Greek derivatives from *θάλαμος*, *θάλασσα*, *θαλλός*, etc., and the Hebrew from *tammūz* belong early in this Part; also those from *θάνατος* and its compounds. The article on *Than* deserves notice and especially the construction of the objective instead of the nominative with a personal or relative pronoun, on which the editor remarks, 'This is app. the invariable construction in the case of *than*

whom, which is universally accepted instead of *than who*. With the personal pronouns it is now considered incorrect'.

The phrases under *thank(s)* deserve notice, especially *To can, con, cun (great, little) thank(s)*; so the noun and verb *tharf, thar, Obs. exc. Sc. dial.*, belonging to the class of preterite presents, in which the present tense is an original preterite (cf. *can, dow, dare, etc.*). *That* fills over thirteen columns. *At that* is characterized as orig. U. S., *colloq. or slang*, with Bartlett given as authority, and the comment, 'Prob. extended from *dear at that, cheap at that (price)*', although more examples are given from British than American authorities.¹ *The* fills over eleven columns from *Beowulf* on, the last column treating *the* = "OE. *þé*, originally locative or instrumental case of the demonstrative and relative pronoun *se, seo, þæt*. 'In OE. interchanging with *þý*; see *Thy, adv.*' (column 2, p. 401)".

An instructive article is the one on the personal pronoun *thee*, objective of *thou* [cf. A. J. P. IV 285] and the corresponding verb, also the one on the verb *thee*, OE: *þéon*, to grow, and so to thrive, prosper, as in the asseveration 'so mote I *the*', originally nasalized, but after the loss of the nasal assimilated to the first ablaut series, *i—ai—i—i*; cf. *Beowulf* 8, *weorð- myndum þah*; it was archaic in the 16th century. *Theft*, from OE. *þeofð*, is an instance of dissimilation. The articles on *their, theirs*, with the midland and southern dialectic *theirn*, analogous to *ourn, yourn, hisn, hern*, deserve attention; so *them* from the Ormulum *þezm* on; *themselves* appeared c. 1500 and became the standard form c. 1540. *Then, than*, with their collateral forms, and *thenne, then*, are found from 900 on, and the Corpus glossary, c. 725, has the form *þanan*, seen in *Beowulf* as *þanon*. The compounds and derivatives from *θεός* are many, but *theodolite* is marked 'origin unknown'. *Theodicy* is well known from Leibnitz (1710), but add an American work with similar title by the late Albert Taylor Bledsoe. *Theology* is divided into dogmatic, natural, and pastoral, and an example from Hallam, 1837, Eng. Lit., gives Peter Lombard as 'the founder of systematic theology in the twelfth century'. An example of the use of the word from Gower (1390) defines it as 'metaphysics', and is followed by a note on *θεολογία*, wherein we are told that 'in the 12th c. (1121-40) Abelard applied the term to a philosophical treatment of the doctrines of the Christian religion'. We find *Theophilanthropy* applied to the deistic system of the theophilanthropists, 'adopted in France as a substitute for Roman Catholicism. It died out c. 1801-2'. *There* and its compounds fill over fifteen columns. The compounds of *θερός* add many more words to our vocabulary, and *θησαυρός* and its derivatives continue our indebtedness to the Greek language, which is increased somewhat by the

¹ Comp. A. J. P. XVIII 129, and add: William Morris, *Stories of the Kings of Norway*. Beibl. zur Anglia, Sept., 1902. B. L. G.

derivatives from *þypp* with its compounds. *These* and later *those* are instructive articles on the demonstrative pronouns and well deserving of careful study, but would take more time and space than can be spared for their consideration; so with the personal pronoun *they*. *Thill* may be considered obsolete by some, but it is still heard in America.

Think, from OE. *þync(e)an*, *þūhte*, *ge-þūht*, marked 'Obs. exc. in *methinks*', and *Think*, from *þenc(e)an*, *þohte*, *geþoht*, are each treated fully, the first in two columns and the second in seven, showing that the latter is much more common in English; it is recognized as a substantive, and is marked *dial.* or *colloq.* *Thir* is *dem. pron.* and *adj.*, tho' marked *Sc.* and *north. dial.* The editor says that 'the earliest evidence is that of Cursor Mundi and the northern works of 1300-1350, in which *þās* and *þā* appear as plural of *that*, and *thir* (in various spellings) is the established plural of *this*, = southern *this*, midland *thise*, *those*'. (See note at end of the article.)

The demonstrative pronoun and adjective *This*, plural *These*, fills five columns, including the adverb *this*, the instrumental case of the demonstrative pronoun. *Tho*, the demonstrative pronoun and adjective, once so common, is now obsolete. As early as 1300 it began to be supplanted in the north by *þās*, and later in the south by *þōs*, which finally took its place in standard English as *those*, *q. v.* Including the adv. (conj.) marked 'Obs. exc. *dial.*', it fills over two columns.

Thon, *dem. pron.* and *a., dial.*, is explained as 'app. a comparatively recent alteration of *yon*, the initial consonant being assimilated to *this* and *that*', and a note adds 'used in Scotland, Ulster and the four northern English counties. Written examples not found before 1800; app. not in Ramsay nor in Burns'. The attempted introduction a few years ago of *Thon* as a pronoun of neutral gender, to avoid the repetition of *he* and *she*, is not noticed, showing that it did not last long enough to get into the Dictionary, for certainly it would have been taken into this *omnium gatherum* of possible forms.

It should not be omitted that under *This* (p. 322, col. 3 *ad init.*, first example), we have of date ?670, *Bewcastle Column* in OE. Texts, 124, *þis sizbecn þun setton*, the oldest example, 130 years before Beowulf, which is dated 800. Reference may be made here to Professor Cook's very recent monograph on 'The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses', Yale University Press, 1912, beautifully illustrated with many photographs. The article *Thorough* and its compounds *thou*, *though*, *thought*, *thrall*, *thrash*, *thresh*, *thread* and its compounds, *threap*, *threat*, *three* and its compounds, *θρήνος*, *threnody*, with the first example from the *Phoenix and Turtle*, so-called Shakespeare, *throat*, *thrill*, *throne*, *throng*, *through* and its compounds, *throw* and its many combinations, *thrush*, *thrust*, *thumb*, with its excrescent *b* after *m*, found as early as c 1290, *thunder* and its compounds—all in-

teresting and instructive. The earliest example given of *Thyestean* is from *Paradise Lost*. Of *thysself* we have the note that from 13th c. *pi*, *py*, *thy*, poss. adj., took the place of the pers. pron. *thee*, *self* being treated as a sb.

The double section dated July 1, 1912, contains the words Sleep—Sniggle, many of which, beginning with Sl- and Sm-, are apparently of Flemish, Dutch, or Low German origin, and some of those beginning with Sl- and Sn- are of Scandinavian origin; Old French and Greek have contributed a few, and Scotch Gaelic has supplied *Slogan*. '*To sleep like a top*' is first found in Congreve's *Old Bachelor* (1693), and it alternates with '*like the dead*' in Byron's *Don Juan*. *Slogan*, spelt *slogorne*, etc., is found in Douglas's *Aeneid*, but it was used by the Scottish Highlanders, or by the native Irish, with a personal surname or place-name. J. R. Randall supplies '*and sing thy dauntless slogan song, Maryland*'. Passing over many words, we find Slough (slau), as in Bunyan's '*Slough of Despond*', and Slough (slof), the cast-off skin of a snake, etc. Under *slow* we have Tindale's *slow-bellies*, followed in A. V., but for which the Rheims version has '*slothful bellies*' and the R. V. '*idle gluttons*'. '*Rebuke them sharply, saith St. Paul of those slow-belly Cretians*'. The spelling *sluice* is late (18th c.) from *sculse*, *sleuss*, Latin *exclusa*. *Slum*, *slums*, orig. a room, is Obs. in that sense; then a street, alley, court, as now, and as verb to '*slum*' or '*scamp*' work, then to frequent slums, or to visit them for charitable purposes, the common modern use, so frequent in *to go (a)slumming*. *Sling-shot* and *slung-shot* are both marked 'U. S.', but I do not doubt that the weapon may be found '*across the water*'. *Slump*, while marked '*chiefly dial.* and U. S.', has its examples, when used of stocks, values, etc., from British newspapers. *Smack*, in one sense, is marked 'U. S.', and defined as '*a fishing vessel having a well in which fish may be kept alive*', but certainly an older example than 1891 might have been found. It has been in familiar American use for many decades. *Small* fills a dozen columns, and *small-arms* has examples from 1710. *Small-clothes* is defined '*breeches*' and ante-dates 1800. *Smart*, in the sense of considerable, is marked '*chiefly dial.* and U. S.', and in that of clever '*chiefly U. S.*' *Smear-case*¹ is marked 'U. S.' and traced to German and Dutch origin, although it is also defined '*otherwise called cottage-cheese*', for which *curds* is a common equivalent.

The Part issued October 1, 1912, *Senatory—Several*, contains some very important words, most of which are of Latin etymology, directly or through French, and some of which are ultimately of Greek origin. It contains also words from Italian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and the Indian languages, the most common of which is *Sepoy*. A large proportion of the words

¹ It is cited in Webster's Dictionary of 1828.—B. L. G.

is remarkable for the diversity of their sources, as, for example, 'the derivatives of the Latin *sentire* (which occupy fifteen pages)'. Many have undergone changes of meaning which 'are of no little significance for the history of thought', and others 'are in various ways instructive'. Biblical Hebrew supplies *seraph*, *seraphim*, and Obs. *seraphin*. (See note on these words.) *Seraphins* and *Seraphims* once existed as plurals, but are now rare. *Send* and its combinations fill ten columns. *Send-off* is marked 'Originally U. S.', and the first example is from Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, dated 1872, although the example given is from 1900. 'One of the boys has passed in his checks, and we want to give him a good send-off'.¹ *Senior* is defined in school and college use: 'In U. S. a student in his fourth year'. The Dictionary is evidently much indebted to U. S. for additions to its vocabulary. *Sennight* supplies examples from the *Elene* (c. 1000) on to Holland's *Pliny*, 1601. *Sensation* supplies many terms, and here, too, 'U. S.' appears in 'a sensational journal or journalist'. *Sense* fills eight columns, and as a verb = understand, comprehend, grasp, 'take in'; it is marked 'chiefly U. S. and dial.'; its derivatives are many. The four books (or the book) of the sentences is the term applied to Peter Lombard's 'compilation of the opinions of the fathers on questions of Christian doctrine', q. v. *Senwy*, the mustard-plant, tho' now marked 'Obs.', was in use, in its various forms, from 13th to 18th cent., and carries us back to Greek *σινάπι*, 'pop. *L. sinapatium*'.

The fabulous story of the origin of the term *Septuagint* is dismissed, as might have been expected.

Seraph is explained as a back-formation from the plural *Seraphim*, *Seraphin* (on the analogy of *cherubim*, *in*, and *cherub*). (Perh. first used by Milton.) 'See *Seraphim*'.

Sergeant, *serjeant*, fill five columns, and, with derivatives, seven all together. 'Down to the 17th c. the forms were used indiscriminately'. Now *serjeant* is applied to the legal profession, and *sergeant* in other senses. The ordinary military title is that of the non-commissioned officer next above the corporal, but see the article for the term *sergeant-major*.

The verb *serve* fills fifteen columns, and the noun *service* eleven, but 'the article on the verb *set* is the longest in the Dictionary, this verb having a greater variety of senses and idiomatic applications than any other word in the language'; it fills over sixty columns.

The dog, setter, as the name of a special breed, has three varieties, English, Irish and Gordon setters. 'The name was formerly applied to a kind of spaniel'. The quotation from Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) says: 'Some authorities are convinced that the *setter* is directly derived from the spaniel'.

¹ *Send-off* is given as an equivalent of *envoi* in Funk. B. L. G.

I may quote, in conclusion, certain combinations of the word *seven*, occasionally found, and sometimes requiring explanation. First, the *seven bishops*, i. e., Archbishop Sancroft and Bishops Ken, Lake, Lloyd, Trelawney, Turner and White, who, in 1688, protested against the Declaration of Indulgence of James II; *seven champions*, i. e., the national saints of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, Spain and Italy, viz: George, Andrew, David, Patrick, Denys, James and Anthony; *seven sisters*, i. e., the Pleiades, or *seven stars*; *seven sleepers*, seven youths of Ephesus said to have hidden in a cave during the Decian persecution and to have slept there for several hundred years, on which we have a quotation from Milton (1641): 'The seven sleepers, that slept . . . three hundred seaventy and two years'; *seven stars*, defined as a. The Pleiades; b. ? The planets; c. The Great Bear; and under *seven sisters*, seven cannon, resembling each other in size and make, cast by Robert Borthwick and used at the battle of Flodden.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REPORTS.

HERMES XLIV.

Fascicle 1.

Der griechische und lateinische Dictys. M. Ihm publishes the Greek fragment of Dictys (Tebt. Pap. 1907, No. 268) and, on opposite pages, the IV century Latin paraphrase of Septimius (ed. Meister), with variants from cod. Aesinus. He adds a full commentary on the Greek text with parallel passages from Malalas, Cedrenus, John of Antioch, etc. There is no reason to believe that the fragment contains an abbreviated text. Septimius is nearer the Greek original than the Sisyphus narrative of Malalas, but the latter nearer than the other Byzantine writers. There is little in the fragment to aid in clearing up the correspondences with the Heroicus of Philostratus or the Nov. Hist. of Ptolem. Chennus (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 329 f.).

Das zweite Buch der Tusculanen (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 487). M. Pohlenz analyzes Tusc. II, revealing Cic. additions (especially 1-28, in part from de Fin. II) and his loose treatment of the argument of his source. This was a product of the Middle Stoa, which explains the attacks on the earlier Stoa. Some of the doctrines point to Panaetius, viz.: the psychological dualism § 47 (cf. de Off. I 101) and the use of alienus in reference to pain § 35. Panaetius seems to have been the first to discuss the subject of pain in his letter to Tubero (cf. de Fin. IV 23), and was identified as a source of Tusc. II by Zietzschmann (de Tusc. disput. fontibus Diss. Halle 1868), who, however, obscured his results by taking de Fin. II also to be dependent on Panaetius. P. shows the correspondences in the argument of Tusc. II with the outline of Panaetius' letter (l. c.). The latter has also been recognized as a source of Gellius XII 5, 7 ff., where he is quoted, and the significant term alienatus occurs § 8. P. shows the agreement with Tusc. II and especially calls attention to the groaning of the philosopher (§ 55-57).

Zu den Inschriften des Bundes der Magneten. Ad. Wilhelm discusses and emends some recent publications of Thessalian inscriptions, especially ll. 77-94 of IG IX 2, 1109, where Kern's restoration (Insc. Thessal. 1109): *εἰ [δέ τις κόπτοι* is unlikely, as the regular legal formula was *εἰάν* with the subj., read *εἰ δ[έ μή]*. A good rule for the optative condition in laws is given by H. Jacobsthal in XXI Beiheft d. Indogerm. Forsch., p. 93 ff. Further (l. c.) W. emends so that a freeman was fined 50 dr. (not 500) for tree cutting, or herding, in the sacred precinct; a

slave received twice that number of stripes (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 382, A. J. A. 1909, p. 508). The use of *παραγράφειν* in the sense of 'entering one's name as liable, next to the fine' is discussed, etc.

Ps.-Aristoteles *Περὶ Πνεύματος* C. IX. und Athenaios von Attalia. E. Neustadt analyzes the ninth chapter of *Περὶ Πν.* and shows that its doctrine was largely Stoic, specifically Chrysippean, with an admixture of Aristotelian terminology, which explains the inclusion of this document among the works of Aristotle. He establishes eleven points and matches them with citations from Galen (I 457-469, IV 610, 612, VIII 631, 642, XIV 698, etc.) thereby revealing the authorship of Athenaeus of Attalia, founder of the Pneumatic school I century A. D.

Lucilius als Grammatiker. F. Sommer does not believe with Stolz (Hist. Gram. § 207) that Lucilius' attempt in Book IX to regulate the use of *ei* and *i* was based on practical observation (cf. *illi* for *illei*); but upon the ancient principle, usually attributed to Trypho, *ὅτι συνέπαθεν ἡ φωνὴ τῷ σημαυνομένῳ* (cf. Steinthal Gesch. d. Sprachw. I 351). In this light we can understand: *iam 'puerei venere': e postremum facito atque i, ut puerei plures fiant. i si facis solum, pupilli, pueri, Lucili, hoc unius fiet.* Similarly L. proposed *peila*=javelins, but *pilum*=pestle (ignoring the plural of the latter), etc.

Beiträge zur Sprache und Verstechnik des Homerischen Epos. H. Jacobsohn refers to the fact that the first syllable of the Homeric *ἴσος* and *νοῦσος* is always in arsis, which suggested to G. Meyer *ἴσος* for Homer; but this and *νόσος* lack inscriptional evidence, nor is there warrant for *σF > σσ*. J. would substitute the admitted earlier forms *ῥισῥος* and *νόσῥος*. The original syllabification *ῥισ-ῥος*, *νόσ-ῥος*, had become *ῥι-σῥος*, *νό-σῥος*, which both helped to preserve *F* and shortened the first syllable (cf. Cretan *ῥισῥος*, *ῥίσος*, *ἴσος*, and the universal *νοσέω*). The epic poet avoided the dilemma of dealing with syllables, short in pronunciation, but followed by two consonants, by placing them exclusively in arsis, where the ictus made the division again *ῥισ-ῥος* and *νόσ-ῥος*; *ἴσος* and *νοῦσος* are artificial. Similarly *εἵνεκα* and *ἔνεκα* represent the original *ἔνφεκα*, which varied under the Hartel-Solmsen law according as the first syllable stood in arsis or thesis.

Galenos über echte und unechte Hippocratica. J. Mewaldt shows that Galen's knowledge of Hippocratean exegesis and criticism was derived from his teachers, *μαθηταὶ Κοίντου*, and traces this learning through the Alexandrian empiricists back to the great Herophilus and Praxagoras of Cos. Requested by his pupils he wrote commentaries to fifteen works of Hippocrates. He began with the *γνησιώτατα καὶ χρησιμώτατα*, but later included interpolated texts; hence his work *περὶ γνησίων τε καὶ νόθων Ἱππο-*

κράτους συγγραμμάτων. M. presents a passage from this work, which he has identified in G's preface to *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου*, and shows its character by enumerating the above fifteen treatises with scattered comments of Galen on their genuineness, probably traditional judgments. M. shows that the methods of Homeric criticism were applied to the writings of Hippocrates. Galen's views however had no influence on the later Hippocratean corpus.

Aus dem Leben des M. Caelius Rufus. F. Muenzer identifies L. Calpurnius Bestia as the father of Atratinus (cf. Athen. Mitth. IV 217), hence Cicero's two defenses *de ambitu* (Cic. ad Quint. fr. II 3, 6 and *pro Caelio* § 7) were one and the same. The conjecture that Caelius, not Caecilius, accused Calpurnius Bestia (Pliny n. h. XXVII, 4) is strengthened (cf. Pliny VII, 165, where these names were certainly interchanged).

Miscellen: F. Leo emends with a commentary the comic fragment (Oxyrh. pap. VI, n. 855), which Grenfell and Hunt have assigned to Menander, as vv. 14/15 agree with a citation from the *Perinthia* in Suidas s. v. *ἀβέλτερος*. Leo, however, believes in an imitator of M.—R. Laqueur brings further evidence to prove that the epigram of Antipater of Sidon (Anthol. VII 241) was in honor of Ptolemy Philometor's son Eupator, who died 150 B. C. as a youthful ruler of Cyprus (cf. Rh. M. LXIII, 213 ff., Tebt. Pap. I 554).—U. Wilcken maintains, against W. Schubart (*Das Buch bei den Griechen u. Römern* 1907, p. 102), that *τεῦχος* in inscriptions 112–114 B. C. from Priene (ed. Hiller v. Gaertringen) meant *volumen*, a meaning *τεῦχος* kept as late as 177 A. D. (Berl. Griech. Urk. 970, 4). Only after the codex had triumphed, was the term *τεῦχος* applied to this (cf. also Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* 1907, p. 21 ff. and Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies* § 295).—Gabriel Téglás publishes stamped military tiles from Dacia, which indicate the movements of Roman legions, viz., two inscribed LEGVD i. e. LEG(io) V D(acica), show that the LEG V MAC(edonica) sent north 167/8 A. D. adopted the name of its new headquarters. Further the rallying place of the Vexill(atio) Dacor(um) Parthic(a) for its campaign in the Orient has been determined by a tile discovered in the ruins of Potaissa (modern Torda), inscribed VEX. D. P. Corinthianus, its commander, returned from the Parthian war 191 A. D., covered with honors (cf. Corp. III 1193).—N. J. Krom shows that Strabo XV, 1, 10; 2, 9 and Pliny n. h. VI, 78 do not warrant V. Smith's inference (*The Early Hist. of India*¹, p. 117) that the territory ceded by Seleucus to Chandragupta extended as far west as the modern Herat. (cf. *Sandrocottus* in *Cent. Dict. Pr. N.*)—B. Keil explains the unusual coin values on a bronze tablet from Thessaly as designations of weight.—K. Meiser proposes *πιδήτην* for *παιδευτήν* in Epictetus III 24, 99 so as to obtain an antithesis to *οἰκοδεσπότην* (cf. Suidas *πιδῆται*; Plut. *de superst.* 3, 165 D).—C. Robert shows the

arrangement of the chorus in Arist. Wasps 230 ff. (cf. Hermes XXXIII, p. 566 Anm. 1; A. J. P. I 402 foll.).

Fascicle 2.

Die geographische Schrift Apollodors. B. Niese upholds the testimony of Strabo and Steph. Byz., against Diels, etc. (cf. Susem. Alex. Lit. II, p. 36) as to a geography in iambic verse by Apollodorus, and believes in the genuineness of the fragments (cf. C. Müller, frag. hist. Graec. I 449 ff., where some should be assigned to the *Χρονικά* and the *Περὶ νεῶν*), and by comparing them with Ps-Scymnus shows that the latter had abbreviated and was the borrower.

Wann hat Ephorus sein Geschichtswerk geschrieben? B. Niese shows that Ephorus wrote his history in the time of Alexander or soon after; for he must have intended extending it beyond the siege of Perinthus 341/40 (cf. Diod. XVI, 76, 5), perhaps to 338 B. C. This view is confirmed by Clem. Alex. Strom. I 21, p. 403, where we learn that in one of the first three books, Ephorus regarded the crossing of Alexander into Asia in the archonship of Euainetus (334 B. C.), as an epoch making event, which, of course, implies a knowledge of the subsequent successes of A. and the late publication of the whole history. Ephorus' indebtedness to Callisthenes and Aristotle, and other matters are interestingly discussed.

Der Polybianische Gefechtsabstand. Th. Steinwender gives a detailed exposition of ancient military tactics, with modern illustrations; and upholds the traditional view, against Lammert and Delbrück, that according to Polybius (XVIII 29, 30) the soldiers of the phalanx standing three feet apart, as usual in battle, were met by the Roman legionaries standing six feet apart.

Zur Litteratur der Exempla und zur Epitoma Livii. A. Klotz presents a list of forty-one anecdotes, common to Val. Maximus and Seneca, and tries to show that these and others in Ps-Frontinus, Macrobius, etc., were derived from a book of exempla derived from Livy, Caelius Antipater, Cato, etc. The author may have been Hyginus (cf. A. Gell. 10, 18).

Über das Wesen des römischen Triumphs. R. Laqueur shows from Livy (cf. 45, 39, 9 ff.; 38, 48, 13, etc.) that the Roman triumph was not, in its origin, a right pertaining to the imperium (Mommsen); but the sacred duty of the dictator, consul, or praetor, of dedicating the spoils of battle vowed by them at the auspicia before setting out on a military expedition. As conquests grew more important, the celebration of a triumph brought a dangerous distinction to the victorious general, hence the senate managed to make its consent a prerequisite. A refusal, however, did not absolve the general from his vow, hence the occasional celebration of a triumph on Mt. Alban, (beginning 231 B. C.), where it had no political significance. The develop-

ment of a religious act to a political honor is even more apparent in the case of the supplicatio, a development due to the growth, under Greek influence, of personal ambition. L. explains the restrictions in connection with the triumph, which Mommsen observed, etc.

Festi codicis Neapolitani novae lectiones. E. A. Loew gives a list of readings he obtained, upon the suggestion of W. M. Lindsay, from the burned fragments of the Farnesianus, which Croenert had omitted (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, p. 346).

Bemerkungen zur Perikeiromene des Menander. C. Robert, admitting his own errors and approving many suggestions and emendations of others, makes a second experimental reconstruction of the *Περικειρομένη* (cf. *Der Neue Menander* 1908); for the discovery of the two Leipzig parchment leaves, with their seventy-three new verses, necessitated a complete revision (cf. A. Körte, *Zwei neue Blätter der Perikeiromene*, *Ber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1908 S. 145 ff.).

Miscellen: F. Jacoby shows how Propertius formed the group I, 7-9 of his elegies by placing the two propemptica 8 A. B. (cf. *Rh. M.* 1905, 73 ff.) between 7 and 9, which deal with the Hellenistic theme of love poem versus epic, and further added vv. 39-42 to 8 B, in order to effect a closer union; but the power of the blandum carmen, suitable in 7 and 9, interrupts in 8 B the exultation of the poor lover.—A. Körte, while approving Leo's treatment of the comic scene in Oxyrhynch. Pap. VI n. 855 (see above), supports its assignment to Menander's Perinthia and argues in agreement with Dziatzko (*Rh. Mus.* 31, p. 252) and Lindskog (*Studien zum antiken Drama*, *Miscellen* II 11 ff.) that the Perinthia preceded the Andria (cf. Terence, *Andr.* prol. v. 9 ff.), the former with its temulenta anus (*Andr.* 228 ff.) and servus cicans (*Oxyr.* v. 19), representing an earlier and coarser stage in Menander's art.—W. Rensch restores two Thessalian deeds of manumission (*I. G.* IX 2, n. 263 b, and n. 557). The former is dated with the names of *ταγοί* and *ταμίαι*; the latter is an example of the rare Thessalian formula: (l. 18, 19) *ἀπὸ Ζηνοτίμου τοῦ Σωκράτους Παλαμίδης*; this is the only instance of a slave's bearing this name, which characterized intelligence (cf. *Arist. Frogs* v. 1451).—K. Regling follows Blanchet (*revue num.* 1908) in showing how Forrer erred (*Kelt. Numism. d. Rhein- u. Donaulande*, p. 299, 360) in assuming as genuine coins, the Philippi, Geryones, biuges, etc., which Ausonius introduced into his letter to Ursulus.—H. Grégoire makes a few contributions to L. Cohn's emendation of Philo's text (cf. A. J. P. XXXII, p. 464/5). The unintelligible *ποσθένης* (*Hermes* XLIII, p. 185) should be *πόσθαινα* (cf. *γάγγραινα*, *φλύκταινα*, etc.) = Posthitis.—C. Robert amends his note in his *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 41 A. 2 as follows: *θεῶν* die Handschriften; vgl. *Hermes* XIV, 1879, 314, W. Klein

Praxiteles S. 184 A. 2, Die Versuche die Überlieferung zu retten (Reisch bei Pauly-Wiss. V 1691 u. a.) richten sich dadurch von selbst, usw.

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GLOTTA: III Band.

Pp. 1-18. W. Kroll, Der lateinische Relativsatz. Some relative clauses may be explained according to the usual hypothesis as originally interrogative, but in the great mass of them the pronoun or particle was originally indefinite. The original position of the relative clause, still common in early and juristic Latin, was before the principal clause. The hypothesis that the pronoun was indefinite explains the omission of the demonstrative in popular style, the attraction of the "antecedent" into the relative clause, and the "*attractio inversa*" (e. g. *patronus qui vobis fuit futurus perdidistis*).

Pp. 19-33. E. Löfstedt, Zur Mulomedicina Chironis. Textual emendations; several lexicographical peculiarities.

Pp. 33. P. Kretschmer, Zur Hesychglosse βρά und alban. *vlā*.

Pp. 34-43. L. Deubner, *Strena*. New-Year's present of money; originally a branch from a sacred temple, presented on the New-Year as a sign of good luck. Hence also "omen" in general (so already in Pl.).

Pp. 44-5. J. H. Schmalz, Vom "generellen Plural der Konkreta" im Lateinischen. S. sees an instance in Cic. ad Att. I 17, 3 *meos* (referring to his brother Quintus), *tuis* (Quintus's wife, who was Atticus' sister). (Cf. Kirk, below, p. 278.)

Pp. 45-6. P. Kretschmer, Altlateinische Inschrift von Corchiano. "*Med Loucilios feced*". Form *feced* shows great antiquity (ending *-ed* only paralleled in Duenos-inscr.).

Pp. 46-8. F. Vollmer, Das alte *absque*. Pl. Bacch. 412 *nam absque te esset ego illum haberem*, etc. *Que* = "and"; the clause is potential, with ellipsis of a preceding clause of like construction.

P. 49. F. Vollmer, *Aviare?* (Zu Glotta I. 264 Anm.) The verb does not exist; *saviare* is the correct reading CIL. XI. 6711.³

Pp. 49-50. W. H. Kirk, (and) Körber, Zu *incolumis* (Glotta II. 247 ff.).

Pp. 50-1. R. Sabbadini, *Ipsicilla* und *Ipsitilla* (Catull. 32. 1).

Pp. 51-2. G. Landgraf, *odiosus* = *molestus*. Examples from Classical Latinity (Cicero).

Pp. 52-67. E. Lattes, Etr. *varnalisla alfnalisle* e simili. The Etruscan affixes *-sla* (*-sa-la*), *-alisla*; geographical range of their occurrence, history, and use.

Pp. 67. E. Lattes, Ancora etr. *persu*, lat. *persona* (Glotta II. 270).

Pp. 68-70. E. Petrulakis, Kretische Inschriften. Three late and fragmentary inscriptions recently found.

Pp. 70-85. G. N. Hatzidakis, Neugriechische Miscellen. 1. *κονιορτός*—*κορνιαχτός*. (Phonetic rule: *ρτ* in Mod. Gk. becomes *χτ* when a *ρ* occurs in the preceding syllable of the word.) 2. *ἀπόχτι* (by dissimilation for *ἀποφτι*). 3. τὰ Πιλάτα = οἱ Ἑβραῖοι (in Thessalonike). Neuter gender analogical, as also in the following group. 4. ἀπεθαμένα, ζωντανά, πάσπαλα. 5. χλωμός = "blass"; from *χλωρός* by suffixal adaptation from some adj. in *-μος* of like meaning. 6. χάλυψ, χάλυβος, χαλυβδικός, etc. 7. τώρα = "jetzt"; derived from τῇ ὥρᾳ. 8. βάλλω, βαίνω und βιβάζω. Forms from these three verbs are much confused with each other in Mod. Gk.; the aorists however are distinct.

Pp. 85-7. S. Psaltes, Ngr. *ᾄς* = *ᾄφες* oder *ἱασε*? P. maintains the older derivation from *ᾄφες*, against Jannaris and Thumb.

Pp. 87-99. F. Skutsch, Die volskische *lex sacra*. DEVE: DECLVNE: STATOM etc. (Mommsen, U. D., p. 320, Tafel XIV; Planta 240, Conway 252.) Has not arrived at complete interpretation, but proposes new interpretations of some words (notably ASIF = *asses*, acc. pl.) and analyses the general meaning of the whole. It is a tablet forbidding the removal from the temple of certain dedicated offerings except with the permission of the community.

Pp. 99-104. F. Skutsch, Die Konjunctive auf *-assim-essim*. Explained as periphrastic forms, pres. part. + forms of *sim*. *amassim* = *amans sim*. Cf. Oscan. *pa tens ins* of the Cippus Abellanus, which would be a Lat. *patessint*, and is to be taken as transitive. That Lat. *patere* was originally transitive is shown by the derivative *patibulum*.

P. 104. F. Skutsch, *Turdus*. (= *cunnius*.)

Pp. 105-153. K. Witte, Zur Homerischen Sprache. (Cf. Glotta I. 132 ff., II. 8 ff.) V. Die Konstruktion von *εἶσω* mit dem Genitiv. Only twice in Homer, elsewhere with accus. *εἶσω* in Homer generally comes at the end of a verse, and its use with the gen. arose from the ellipsis of *δόμον* in the common phrase *δόμον Ἄιδος εἶσω*. VI. ὁ αἴψ, ὁ αἶς das Meer, ἡ αἰών. Confusion of gender in Homeric nouns caused by their use with two-termination adjectives, whose masc. and fem. forms were the same; thence in later imitative verses arise alterations in the gender of the nouns. VII. Zur Flexion homerischer Formeln. The strict rules for the construction of the last part of the hex-

ameter are responsible for numerous new formations and variations of word and phrase. Rich collection of examples, of which may be quoted this: . . . πατρίδι γαίῃ and . . . πατρίδα γαῖαν are common verse-endings. To put this phrase into the nom. or gen. the word γαῖα does not fit, and other words are therefore substituted, viz., πατρὶς ἄρουρα (late), and πατρίδος αἴης. VIII. πᾶις, παιδός. Nom. and voc. remain generally dissyllabic, because generally occurring before the bucolic diaeresis, where dissyllables fitted into the required dactyl; no such reason for preserving the old pronunciation of παιδός, etc. IX. Der Einfluss des Verses auf die Bildung von Komposita. "Es existiert in der epischen Dichtersprache eine nicht unbeträchtliche Zahl fünf- bzw. viersilbiger Komposita, Nomina wie Verba, die nicht nur eigens für die Verwendung im fünften und sechsten Fuss bestimmt, sondern auch, wie sich zeigen lässt, grösstenteils um dieser Versstelle willen geprägt worden sind". X. Spon-diazonten mit und ohne bukolische Diärese. Spondaic lines tend much more strongly than others to show the bucolic diaeresis (break in words at the end of the fourth foot). Cases where it does not occur are mostly due to extensions or imitations of formulaic words, compounds or phrases. A large number of them end in a plural case of ἄνθρωπος preceded by a dissyllabic word; these are demonstrably imitative. Spondaic lines without the bucolic diaeresis are to be regarded in general as secondary in construction. Witte believes it can be shown ultimately that the same is true of non-spondaic lines, in other words that the original epic verse really consisted of two lines, 4 feet + 2 feet. XI. δράσθαι-ιδέσθαι. The middle forms are secondary, and originally used from metrical necessity.

Pp. 153-156. A. Körte, Die Episynaloiphe. Vowel elided at the end of a line before initial vowel of the following line. In almost all such cases our MSS. follow the ancient grammarians in writing the consonant before the elided vowel at the beginning of the following line.

Pp. 156-164. P. Kretschmer, Griechisches. (Cf. below, 266 ff., 289 ff.) 1. Hyagnis. Also Agnis, i. e. *Φάγνις*; cf. Hes. ἄβαννα: ῥόδα. Μακεδόνες. 2. Die Weihinschrift von Ligurio. (Cf. Kretschmer Herm. 36. 125.) Read *ἐ(μ)προ(ν)ροε* (Att. **ἐμφρουροι* = *ἐν φρουρᾷ ὄντες*) ἀνέθηκαν Ἄνφοξυν. 3. βούλομαι. Its starting-point is the perf. βέβουλα (Hom. II. A 113), for **βέβουλα*, which K. thinks is perf. to βάλλω and meant "I have decided", and so "I will". A phrase like *ἐν θυμῷ* or *μετὰ φρεσὶ* was at first used with it (these phrases are actually found with βάλλω in similar meanings), and then omitted. The present βούλομαι is secondary.

Pp. 164-170. E. Lattes, Vi sono in etrusco veri genitivi in -al e -ia -aia -eia?

Pp. 170-1. P. Linde, Umbr. urnasier. A syncopated form = "*or(di)nariis*".

Pp. 171-191. E. Löfstedt, Plautinischer Sprachbrauch und Verwandtes. Pleonastic doubling of synonyms, especially in pronominal words, in both early and late Latin (Vulgar Latinity): *ambo duo*, *par idem*, *idem unum*, etc. A collection of other rare and isolated Plautine usages, defended mostly as licenses of vulgar language, and generally paralleled in late Latin.

Pp. 191-6. C. Weyman, Lexicalische Notizien. 1. *carus* = liebend. 2. *cumque* = *quandocumque* (inscr. and late Latin, once in Horace). 3. *desputare* (emendation for *deputare* in Arnobius, cf. *consputare*. Meaning: "verabscheuen"). 4. *fulcio*, *fulxi*. 5. *glisco* = *gestio*, *cupio* (medieval Latin).

Pp. 196-201. S. Pantzerhjelm Thomas, Zu *populus* und *populo(r)*. Derives the verb from the noun, which he thinks originally meant "army"; first used of the (originally military) *comitia centuriata*.

Pp. 201-3. F. Skutsch, Zu *populus* und *populor* (and cf. Nöldeke, below, p. 279). *Populor* is simply a denominative verb with privative meaning, equal to *depopulor*; no reason for supposing that *populus* originally meant "army". Cf. Lt. *retare*, etc., German *köpfen*.

Pp. 204-8. N. A. Béts, *Οικήριον* und verwandte Worte auf christlichen Grabinschriften. (Cf. Nöldeke, below, p. 279.) Expressions for "tomb" in Christian inscriptions are *οικήριον*, *κατοικήριον*, *κατοίκησις*, *κατοικία*, *οίκος* alone, and *οίκος αἰώνιος*. Some of these, and notably the last, also occur on heathen inscriptions, but only in late (Christian) times; and probably the expression *οίκος αἰώνιος* for grave was Christian in origin.

Pp. 209-221. G. N. Hatzidakis, Zur Wortbildungslehre im Mittel- und Neugriechischen. I. Mod. Gk. forms with the greatest freedom adjectives in *-(σ)ιμος* with the force of gerundives, replacing ancient *-τος* and *-τεος*. Even in Classical Gk. there are some such formations in *-(σ)ιμος*. II. The nominal suffix *-(σ)ιμον* is nothing but the neuter form of the adj. suffix just mentioned (against Jannaris and others).

Pp. 221-236. O. Lautensach, Der Gebrauch des Aor. Med. und Aor. Pass. bei den Attischen Tragikern und Komikern. Detailed statistics with quotation of occurrences. Shows gradual increase in number of verbs using aor. pass. as compared with those using aor. mid., from Aesch. (37 mid.; 35 pass.) and Aristoph. (58 mid.; 54 pass.) through Soph. (52 pass.; 43 mid.) to Eurip. (71 pass.; 62 mid.) and the other tragedians (17 pass.; 3 mid.).

Pp. 236-241. A. Klotz, *φαρμάκος*? Supposed length of the second *a* rests on six occurrences in Hipponax, all of which may

be read with *ä*. This removes the difficulties which etymologists have had in explaining the word.

Pp. 241-5. F. Solmsen, Zur Geschichte des Namens der Quitte. *Κυδώνιον* perhaps only corrupted by popular etymology (influenced by *Κυδωνία*), cf. Alkman's *κοδύ-μαλον*. Lydian origin is likely.

Pp. 245-252. F. Solmsen, *Praesto esse und praestölārī*. Against Skutsch Glotta II. 389 ff. *Praesto* "adsum" not from *praes*, but from *prae*-*sto*. The denominative *praestolari* for **praestonari* by dissimilation, cf. Att. Gr. *λίτρον* for *νίτρον*, *leptis* (and *lepos*; secondarily by analogy from *leptis*?) for *neptis* (*nepos*).

Pp. 252-3. P. Kretschmer, *Praesto sum*. Suggests that the adv. *praesto* may be some ablative form (perhaps *prae-isto*?); it was so regarded by late grammarians.

Pp. 253-6. H. Ottenjann, *At enim—bat enim* und Verwandtes. German dialect parallels to these comic or popular pairs (*at—bat*, *heia—beia*, etc.).

Pp. 257-266. G. Thiele, Spanische Ortsnamen bei Martial. On the names in Mart. 1. 49 and 4. 55.

Pp. 266-272. P. Kretschmer, Griechisches. 4. *τάλαντον*, 'Αταλάντη. *τάλαντον* a secondary formation to pl. *τάλαντα* (so mostly in Hom.), which was orig. pl. to (*τάλας*) *τάλαν*. 'Αταλάντη fem. to *ἀτάλαντος*, "gleichwiegend, gleich (mit dem Manne)" = *ἀντιάνειρα*. 5. Zu den lakonischen Knabenagoninschriften. (Annual of the British School at Athens XII-XIV passim.) *κασεν* must be no noun but an adverb, particle, postposition or the like; possibly for *καθ' ἐν* "in eins, zusammen"?

Pp. 273-5. J. Endzelin, Varia. 1. Zu gr. *συ* für *τυ*. Not from *τιυ* (Brugmann), but from *τυυ*, > *σ(σ)υ*. 2. Zu etr. *ārimos* "Affe". Lettish *ērms* is a loanword therefrom. 3. Zu lat. *crātis*. (: Lett. *krātiņš* "Käfig", Lith. *krotaĩ* "Gewitterwerk".)

Pp. 275-6. A. Klotz, *Ariamne = Ariadne*? Plin. Nat. Hist. 35. 99.

Pp. 276-7. E. Hasse, *Pulcher, Gnavus*. The first conn. with *blaceo*, the second with *genu* ("die Kniee rührend").

Pp. 277-8. A. Miodoński, Zur lateinischen Syntax. Two brief notes.

P. 278. W. H. Kirk, Genereller Plural im Lateinischen. Further examples (cf. above, p. 44).

P. 279. Th. Nöldeke, Randbemerkungen. I. Zu Glotta III. 206 ff. The expression "ewiges Haus" for grave is of Egyptian origin. II. Zu Glotta III. 201 ff. Semitic and other examples in support of Skutsch on *populari*.

Pp. 279-281. F. Kluge, Nachlese zu Walde.

Pp. 281-5. G. Herbig, Eine etruskische Münzlegende? *ialikovesi* or *ialkovesi*; probably Celtic, but unexplained.

Pp. 285-8. F. Skutsch, *Odium*. Reply to Walde, IF. 28. 396 ff.

Pp. 289-295. P. Kretschmer, Griechisches. (Cf. above, 156 ff., 266 ff.) 6. *αὐθέντης* "murderer" for **αὐτο-θεντης* (*θείνω*) by haplology; to be separated from *αὐθέντης* of the κοινή "auctor, Täter, Urheber" (to which the adj. *αὐθεντικός*, and the other meaning of the word, "lord", which persists in the Mod. Gk. *ἀφέντης* and the Turk. *effendi*). This second *αὐθέντης* is to be connected with Hesych. *συνέντης*; *συνεργός*, and the last part of the compound, **έντης*, is therefore to be regarded as coming from a synonym of *ἔργον*, so that this *αὐθέντης* ("lord") = *αὐτουργός*. 7. Zum Dialekt von Mantinea. On Hiller von Gaertringen's Arcadische Forschungen. 8. *ἄρδω* und *πελᾶγρός*; *ᾶ* may be due to dropping of *F* and contraction of two alphas.

P. 295. F. Skutsch, *sistere* "aufhören"? Doubts the reading of the single passage (Glotta III. 186) where it is said to occur.

Pp. 296-383. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1909; by P. Kretschmer and F. Skutsch.

Pp. 384-8. F. Skutsch, Quisquilien. 11. *Respiritus*. Cic. ND. II. 136—not to be emended. 12. Lat. *cōlei ὄρχις*, to *colum* sack or sieve for straining liquids. 13. Die Quantität von *esse* "essen" (cf. Glotta I. 113 ff.). Length of the *e* vouched for by Greek transliterated inscription, and by a papyrus. 14. Die Adjective vom Typus *Novocomensis*; from an ablative form, cf. *S. Augustinus Hipponeregiensis*. 15. *eliminare*, occurs as intrans. as well as trans. and reflex.

Pp. 388-393. K. Witte, Zur homerischen Sprache. XII. Über die Flexion der Nomina auf *-εύς*. The oblique cases regularly have *-ῆος*, etc., with long *e*-vowel. Exceptions are practically limited to proper names—starting with the genitive forms of a very few names, of which probably the first chronologically, and certainly the commonest, was *Τυδέος* (*υῖός*), from *Τυδεύς*; from this *Ἀτρείος* and (more rarely) *Πηλείος*; only scattering and occasional are other forms. These forms in *-ίος*, etc., belong to the popular language, as against the true epic *-ῆος*, etc., and originated under the influence of metrical tendencies and analogies (cf. above, p. 105 ff.).

Pp. 394-417. Indices, by K. Witte.

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BRIEF MENTION.

As Professor White's assault upon the logaoedic theory of Heinrich Schmidt tempted me a few months ago (A. J. P. XXXIV 106) to bring forth from its pigeonhole my 'put past' (A. J. P. VIII 254) lecture on Sappho, so WILAMOWITZ's *Sappho und Simonides* (Weidmann) has moved me to compare the bright light that WILAMOWITZ has shed on the poetess with the crepuscular vision of forty years ago. This new volume of WILAMOWITZ's is dedicated to the memory of Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, and the author tells us how he followed to the grave the illustrious scholar whom he had never seen in the flesh; and as I am one of the few survivors of that distant time, I may be permitted to add my personal reminiscences to WILAMOWITZ's eloquent tribute. Welcker lived to a great age. Born in 1784, he died in 1868. In 1852, when I was one of those who gathered about the long table in the anteroom of the University Library at Bonn, he seemed to me—a lad not yet twenty-one—an ancient of days. A close contemporary of Boeckh, whose lectures I had followed a few semesters before, his bearing was that of an old, old man. He spoke slowly, deliberately. Whether his vision was impaired at that time I do not know, but he had the far-off look characteristic of the blind. At all events, he saw what we could not see. *ἐπὶ οὐρανῷ* is the Greek word. What was clear to his mind's eye he tried to conjure up for us. The image of Greek antiquity rose like an exhalation from his discourse—a golden mist, as I have said elsewhere. The word 'sinnig' seems to have been made for him. He was gentleness, benignity itself whenever he was consulted by the young foreigner. A great celebrity, he was sought by visitors to Bonn, and I shall never forget how one sunny day as I was taking my usual walk in the Poppelsdorfer Allee, I was accosted by a young Englishman, who addressed me in a German not to be reproduced phonetically: 'Kunnen Ssie mir ouohl ssaggen, ouo dur Hur Professor Ouelcker bleibt?'

Sappho was Welcker's love. Whether he ever had another does not appear. He was a bachelor all his days, and his famous vindication of Sappho, written in his early prime (1816), has made him her knight for all the ages. Sappho is no lay figure. She is a personality, and WILAMOWITZ introduces his essay by a treatise on 'Persönlichkeit', a word which like 'personality' in English has come very much to the front of late years. Goethe

seems to have started the business in his West-östlicher Divan, and according to WILAMOWITZ, it is completely threshed out in the cultivated circles of German society, just those circles in which personality is often reduced to a minimum. Unless I am mistaken, even among people of English speech, 'personality' has gradually taken the place of 'character', 'individuality', 'idiosyncrasy'—idiosyncrasy, once a popular word. 'My father was a man of highly flavoured personality', one was heard to say the other day. Twenty-five years ago he would probably have said, 'My father was a man of marked character'. Now, 'highly flavoured' tells the tale. It is an appeal to the subtle sense by which Laura Bridgman sorted clothes. Of course, 'character' and 'personality' are not synonymous. Eucken has a long discourse on personality in his 'Grundlinien zu einer neuen Lebensanschauung', but I do not see that he has helped us much. In Goethe's famous lines, 'Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille, Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt', the poet has given us in a few crystal drops all that can be condensed from the nebulousness of the philosopher. The Greeks, we are told, knew nothing of personality, that there is at most a faint adumbration of it in a passage of Aristotle. That can only mean that the ancient Greek had no word for 'personality', just as he had no word for 'humanity' or 'humanism'. He would doubtless have shivered at the Modern Greek προσωπικότης and ἀτομιστικότης, but he had the thing, and one is tempted to shy at the subtle observer the comic missile of αὐτόματος. The first personality in Greek literature was Hesiod, as everybody knows, and WILAMOWITZ passes in review those whom he considers persons, those whom he considers types. About some of them there may be debate. There can be none about Sappho, θαυμάσιον τι χρῆμα, to quote Strabo, whom one is almost ashamed to quote, so threadbare is the quotation; and it may be doubted whether it has been freshened up by WILAMOWITZ's calling Strabo 'der ziemlich philiströse Strabon'. One is almost tempted to search the Lunenburg heath of that highly respectable author for other sympathetic utterances. Of this θαυμάσιον χρῆμα WILAMOWITZ begins his discourse by a sentence which is comprehensible only from the Berlines point of view, fully comprehensible only by those who have followed the processes of Berlin courts. 'When the name Sappho', he says, 'is mentioned to-day, more people will think of sexual perversion than of a great poetess'. Krafft-Ebing, and Mantegazza are not unknown to the Western World, and Paris is said by Parisians to be a poor second to Chicago, but, after all, the prevalent Anglo-Saxon conception of Sappho is that of the poetess, and her fabled love for Phaon—a natural love—has at least in the popular mind eclipsed the sinister interpretation of burning Sappho's affection for the maidens of her school. The vindication of Sappho has led WILAMOWITZ through sewage in which few but professional

classicists—a race with imperforate nostrils—will care to follow him, for it rests upon the proof that ‘Lesbian love’ is something other than it is commonly supposed to be, something too vile to be associated with the name of the world’s greatest poetess, something so vile that Horace has put it in the lowest sink of one of his malodorous epodes—a thing not to be elaborated, or rather allaborated, orally or otherwise.

Reading the other day Professor HUMPHREYS’ commentary on *Demosthenes De Corona* (American Book Company), a commentary quick with notes of personal observation and experience and full of pregnant hints for the student of the orator, I was arrested by the difficulty which that eminent scholar found in the words τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν (§ 3). ‘Both to lose’, he remarks, ‘and fail to win, say too much’, but he gives no answer to his own problem; and I wondered whether his difficulty lay in the sense or the tense of διαμαρτεῖν. But as I went on, I found that with the manly directness characteristic of Professor HUMPHREYS he refuses to be bound by ‘theoretical difference between the aorist and the present infinitive’, which, he says, is often neglected. And so under § 86 he remarks that ‘the distinction between the aorist and the present in the dependent moods and in the infinitive and part. must not be insisted on. They are often varied for the sake of variety’. Now, I have maintained repeatedly and sometimes at considerable length (A. J. P. XXIII 242) that the ‘theoretical’ difference between the modal tenses of apobasis and paratasis (A. J. P. XXIII 106) is the same as that between the indicative aor. and imperfect, and as Professor HUMPHREYS has more than once explained and explained happily the difference between the latter two, it might seem incumbent on me to rebel against his dictum. But here as elsewhere there is great danger of falling into formulae, such as the well-worn ‘general and specific’, which is often applied where it does not hold, and we must not lose ourselves, as some scholars have lost themselves, in a Sahara of statistics (A. J. P. XXIX 243; XXX 105, 476) beyond the reach of immediate feeling. A finer analysis than is commonly employed may be advocated, but we must watch the period of the language; and though the *Graeculi* continued to be more sensitive to the shift of the modal tenses than we are (A. J. P., l. c.), we must not overlook the trend towards the aor. ἀκούε ἀντὶ τοῦ πείσθητι, says the scholiast on Aischyl. Cho. 506. Nay, says Verrall, it should be πείθου. But what are we going to do with πίπε ἀντὶ τοῦ πίθι of the Homeric scholiast (Il. 14, 5)? Under § 86 just cited Professor HUMPHREYS quotes as a specimen of indifference Dein. 1, 27 where ἀνάγκωθι, the tense of urgency, is followed by ἀναγίνωσκε, the tense of impatience; and in § 4 he maintains that the aorist could have been used just

as well as the present. The text runs, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω, οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι, where the ordinary formulae ('despatch' and 'detail') seem to work fairly well, and it may be worth noting that according to Preuss ἀπολύσασθαι is the only inf. tense of this verb in Demosthenes. But Professor HUMPHREYS is doubtless right in his protest against over-analysis especially in the stage of study for which his commentary is intended. The student will still be on Greek soil, or at all events, no worse off than those 'slow bellies', the Gortynians, at least according to Stahl, G. V., p. 152.

It is evident then that it is not the tense of διαμαρτεῖν that is the trouble, but the sense of the word; and the combination τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν recalls another irresolution of another eminent scholar. Commenting in a recent number of Classical Philology on the rival translations of the Apollonios of Philostratos, Conybeare's and Phillimore's, Professor Shorey remarks:

There is nothing funnier even in Tredwell than the rendering which our two scholars have given of the words (I, 13): ἀλλ' ὅμως συκοφαντοῦσιν οἱ τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις αἰτῶν, ὡς διαμαρτία ἐρωτικῇ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεναντίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυῶν ἔθνος. This Conybeare renders: "And yet there are those who accuse him falsely of an addiction to venery alleging *that he fell a victim of such sins, and spent a whole year in their indulgence among the Scythians*" (italics mine). Professor Phillimore is less outspoken: "alleging some sentimental vagary, which they say kept him a whole year in Scythia".

There is no question about the fun of Conybeare's rendering, which seems to have been inspired by the old English version of Rev. Edward Berwick (1809):

Yet some still accuse him of sacrificing to Venus and of indulging in the pleasures of love, adding that he passed a whole year in Scythia for that purpose.

Still, I wish Professor SHOREY had given his own version by way of contrast, but like Professor HUMPHREYS in the Demosthenic passage, he has left us in doubt as to the correct rendering, to which τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν may help us. Everything turns on the question whether διαμαρτία is intellectual or moral. Volumes have been written on the lightheartedness of the Greek, as shown by the word ἀμαρτάνειν, which is commonly taken as the equivalent of our 'sin'. ἀμαρτάνειν has no necessary stain upon it. It is intellectual rather than moral. And yet the 'lighthearted Greek', with his ἄγος, his μύσος, his μίαισμα, had a more shuddering sense of blood-guiltiness than the sons of, Arminius or the descendants of the Berserkers. ἀμαρτεῖν, 'fail', and συμφορὰ, 'accident', are euphemisms, if you choose, for 'sin' for 'crime'. But what does ἐρωτικῇ διαμαρτία χρησάμενον mean, judging by the light of the Demosthenic passage? Is it anything

more than ἐρώτων διαμαρτών? We have to do with self-exile in consequence of disappointment in love, and those who have read Hippokrates *περὶ ἀέρων*, c. 21, will understand why Apollonios is said to have gone to Scythia to cool off. It was the last place in the world to which a man could resort in order to sacrifice to Venus. Exile was one of the most familiar *Remedia Amoris*, and Burton's *Anatomy* has a chapter on the subject of Love Melancholy, with the usual delightful medley of authorities, going far back beyond the age of Philostratos—which was a sentimental age. The ταῦρος χηρεύων of Sophokles, not cited by Burton, comes up to the mind, and the modern psychological novelist would doubtless adduce the story of Bellerophon with the tempting explanation of the hero's wandering over the Aleian plain and eating his heart, as he thought of wasted opportunities; for Bellerophon had blood in his veins, and it was the reverence for Ζεὺς Ξένιος that restrained his passion, as it restrained the passion of his fellow-martyr, Peleus, as Pindar tells us (N. 5, 31): τοῦ μὲν ὄργαν κνίσον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι. Eros is a κνίδη (P. 10, 60), the ὄργα is the too familiar *ira* of Horace, and the 'steep talk', the 'giddy talk' of Hippolyta needs no interpretation for those who haunt the cabarets of our great cities.

Professor FAY's articles in which he has vivified the chapter of word-formation and made sense-words out of suffixes (A. J. P. XXXI 454 foll., XXXIII 377-400; XXXIV 15-42) would naturally appeal to a man of my peculiar temperament, and I found myself on the verge of making a spectacle of my old age by etymologizing a number of suffixes in a fashion that in my hands would doubtless resemble the processes of Plato's *Cratylus*. Anything, I said to myself, is better than the tricks that are played with the demonstrative, and to that extent I am in sympathy with Westphal, who forty years ago and more ridiculed the 'da' theory, according to which 'da' answered for all the cases. It is this very doctrine of the cases that has given me more trouble in my syntactical studies than anything else (A. J. P. XXXI 362; XXXIII 487). Years ago I wrote a review of what was the science of that day (A. J. P. II 83 ff.), and made no secret of my discontent. The theory of the moods and tenses is by no means perfect, but in comparison with the theory of the cases it works like a charm. You can actually make a fair show of reproduction by means of your theory of the moods and tenses, but the so-called mixed cases defy analysis. We cannot tell which element in the mixture decides the construction, and the rule refuses to work when we translate English into Greek. What are we to do with the genitive? One of the younger scholars who are pushing forward the lines of syntactical re-

search, W. HAVERS, the author of the 'Jener-Deixis', has been studying the relations of genitive and dative, and, accepting a hint of mine in my note on Pindar (P. 3, 40), has set up the category of the *Dativus sympatheticus* in lieu of the current nomenclature, which to me is meaningless. In point of fact, it is not so difficult to distinguish between the genitive and the dative, when they are rivals,¹ and many years ago I was careful to speak of the Genitive of the Owner and the Dative of the Possessor.

But the genitive itself, or the genitive and its two selves? Kuhn's theory of the genitive as a fossilized adjective I adopted enthusiastically at the time of its promulgation. Whitney resigned himself to it. Whitney's attitude towards such things was largely the attitude of resignation. After a while the phonetists fell foul of Kuhn's theory, and it was relegated to the limbo of exploded fancies. Of late it has shown signs of life, and many of the phenomena of the genitive seem to find their natural explanation in an equivalence of genitive and adjective, as Schuchardt has recently urged in the matter of the puzzling genitive of apposition. No wonder then that I stare at the genitive terminations, and wish that some Jinn, like Professor FAY, would evolve some sense-word that might give vitality to the case. Anthropocentric as I am in dealing with the phenomena of syntax, how I should hail some etymology that would enable us to see things as the Semites saw them. How plastic, how drastic are the father of lies, the mother of a horn (= rhinoceros); the son of thunder, the daughter of the horse-leech, the daughter of Zion, the sons of Belial. Of course, family figures occur often enough in Greek poetry, but the commentators tell us not to take them seriously (O. 8, 1). Why not? The best poetic translation of the adjective is often the family figure. That admirable translator, Mr. Myers, renders (N. 8, 18): πορτία . . . Κύπρω 'the isle of Kypros'. That is what I call a *raison démonstrative* translation. Kypros, daughter of the deep, is in line with the child of Aphrodite, and the bride of the sun of the Seventh Olympian. In Dr. Petersen's admirable essay on the diminutives in -ιον he acknowledges the patronymic -ιος (A. J. P. XXXII 95) as one of the sources of the diminutive connotation. Is it only a connotation? What if it were the head of the corner? Little-john, the son of John, may be a giant, and μέγα is a common epithet for θηρίον. But behind the πατρική πτώσις lies the κτητική πτώσις which has given its name to our English genitive. No choice of nomenclature could have been more characteristic of nationality.

¹ In v. 16', says Jebb on Bakchyl. 3, 15, 'βρβει takes the gen. a verb of fulness (ap. Soph. O. C. 161), with no difference of sense, unless it be that the dative is more animated and picturesque'.

Whatever science may make of the terminations of the genitive, the compound is older than the case; and the growing together of the genitive and the noun in Greek, reversing the process of the *status constructus* in Hebrew, is in line with other developments in language. The repugnance of the genitive to separation from its regimen, of which investigators are making more and more, is a survival of the original state of things, which still obtains in the English possessive. When there is nothing for the genitive to lean upon, it acquires a manner of forlorn independence (A. J. P. XXVII 358), such as we find in the genitive absolute, such as we find in the genitive at the head of the sentence (A. J. P. XXIII 25). When the preposition associates itself with the pure genitive, as it is called to distinguish it from the ablative genitive, the genitive does not depend on the preposition, but on the idea of locality postulated by the preposition—as in *ἐν διδασκάλῳ*—and this explains more than one case-structure that baffle the syntactician, or, if you choose, the student of semantics, such as *ἐπὶ* with the genitive, where one cannot well take refuge in the ablative genitive, which fails also to explain the difference between *ἐπὶ* with the genitive and *ἐν* with the dative (A. J. P. XVIII 118). But that is an old story.

It is more than twenty-five years since I heard an eminent man of letters in a public discourse attribute to Pindar the well-known line of Simonides on a victory with the mule-car: *χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων*. I marvelled that a man of his rare culture should have spoiled the old story recorded in Aristotle, Rhet. III, c. 3. But the other day, turning over the pages of Landor's Pericles and Aspasia, I discovered the source of the error. In a letter to Cleone, Aspasia, an Ionian woman and therefore not inclined to favour Pindar, is supposed to write: 'Pindar never quite overcame his grandiloquence. The animals we call *half asses* by a word of the sweetest sound although not the most seducing import, he calls "the daughters of the tempest-footed steeds"'. My eminent man of letters was a great admirer of Landor's, as I knew, and doubtless more familiar with Pericles and Aspasia than with Aristotle's Rhetoric. But what of the translation 'steeds', a recurrent trouble (A. J. P. XXXI 364, 492)? If 'steed' is a 'stallion', as it is, *ἵππων* is not to be translated 'steeds' but 'mares', unless indeed one should prefer the Scottish 'she-horses'; for mules, the cross between the jack and the mare, are meant, and not hinnies. The hinny, which is the cross between the stallion and the jenny, is seldom bred. It is a poor affair, and the two hybrids are very different. 'The hinny neighs like a horse, the mule brays like the ass. The mule's ears, tail and general aspect are asinine. The hinny

more nearly resembles the horse, is of slighter build and of strength inferior to the mule', and, which is even more to our purpose, its lack of speed was notorious in antiquity. Pliny says of it (N. H. 8, 44): *effrenis et tarditatis indomitae*. The racers on coins are distinctly mules, not hinnies—as, for instance, on a coin of Messana, figured in my Pindar (p. 170). One cannot help asking. Is not this lesson in translation a lesson in eugenics?

In the programme that accompanies the new *Passow* (Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht), the editor, WILHELM CRÖNERT, holds out no hope of an early completion of the work. If the older *Passow* was sixteen years in building, how can we expect a much more speedy termination of a much more ambitious enterprise? But the aged scholar must not despair. Little did I dream that I should live to see the great Oxford Dictionary so near its goal as it is now. When s. v. *Crop* I was referred to *Neck* for an explanation of *Neck and Crop*, I said sadly that I should not be able to consult *Neck* (A. J. P. XXII 232). To be sure, when *Neck* came, it gave no satisfactory answer to the problem, the solution of which was reserved for Wright's Dialect Dictionary. Up to the appearance of Wright, my private interpretation of the phrase was based on the physical process of seizing an objectionable member of society by the scruff of the neck and the slack of the breeches corresponding to the crupper. 'All in a moment his roan Rolled neck and crop over, lay dead as a stone'. But according to Wright, 'crop' means 'scruff of the neck', and I have had to surrender very reluctantly my picturesque interpretation (A. J. P. XXVIII 114). Doubtless similar surrenders will be made necessary by the new *Passow*, but whatever may be made necessary by the new *Passow*, it will have to be used warily, like all other dictionaries. When Lewis and Short came out, a young scholar—destined to high distinction—sent me for publication in the Journal a list of what he considered flagrant blunders. My gentle nature rebelled against such a proceeding before the useful compilation had a chance to shew its usefulness. 'Lexicography is full of pitfalls', I replied, 'as you yourself have shewn by the mistakes you have made in your criticisms'. Liddell and Scott is a quarry of such things, as I found out long before I undertook a collaboration which came to a sad end. My articles were slumped with Professor Godwin's in the Preface, all manner of liberties were taken with my copy (A. J. P. III 515), and the article on *εως* either arrived too late or was thrown aside—whether to the advantage of the student or not may be discerned by a comparison of A. J. P. IV 416 ff., with the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott. One thing the editors allowed to stand under *πρίν*, and that is the right explanation of the ellipsis in Od. 15, 393-4: οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ, πρίν ὥρη, καταλέχθαι. The ellipsis

is *ἐστί* and not *ἐη*, as is stated in Syntax of Classical Greek, § 85. Like some other things in that manual, it must have been put in for the purpose of refutation, and the refutation omitted. Nothing could be more absurd than the assumption of the ellipsis of an impossible construction, and for Homer *πρὶν ἐη* is an impossible construction; and I am not surprised that Mr. Platt has recently advanced the conjecture *πρὶν ὥρῃς* after the well-known Pindaric passage (P. 4, 43), though I cannot accept it. *πρὶν ἐστί* is causal, like *ἕως ἐστί* (A. J. P. IV 417; XXIV 387), and is equivalent to *ὅτι γὰρ πῶ ἐστί*.

The scope of the new *Passow* is, as I have said, ambitious. It is to take in the whole thesaurus of the Greek language down to the Byzantine time. The line is drawn at Procopius and the subsequent Byzantine historians, although the contemporary poets and philosophers are included. Inscriptions and papyri are to be conscientiously exploited—even the papyri of the Byzantine time. Coins, gems, and vases are to furnish material. The new Latin Thesaurus is to yield its treasures, and the glosses likewise. Especial attention is to be paid to the dialects, the ancient lexicographers, scholiasts and grammarians, to the Septuagint and other versions and the New Testament. The texts are to be critically studied, and corruptions indicated. Etymology is to be handled briefly, exegesis concisely, the references are to be distinguished by their abundance, their exactness, their analytical arrangement. The first fascicle runs from A to *αἰμορρυχίας*. An interesting and important feature is the category VERB (*reitung*), which is appended to some of the more considerable articles, and which may redeem in some measure the pellmell disorder of the examples—an offence to my soul as a syntactician. As in most German works, the art of abridgment is carried to an extreme, but those who have had some experience with the advertisements in German newspapers, where 'e. fr. Pf'. represent 'ein frommes Pferd', will have no serious difficulty. Further notice is reserved.

From early youth I have indulged in the habit of making summaries of such books and articles as happened to interest me at the time, and I have in manuscript reams of such things, extending from Becker's *Römische Alterthümer*, which I abridged in 1852 with a view to my doctoral examination in 1853, down to Mr. Grundy's *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, of which I have had a word to say (A. J. P. XXXIII 338). Of late this mass has been so infiltrated by my own peculiar vein that very little of it has proved available for the Journal, and in the few specimens that I have published from time to time the serious

reader must have been annoyed by the unreasonable demand on his attention that is necessary to eliminate cryptic criticism. Of course, the less I know of the subject in hand, the more faithful is my summary, and therefore I regret that I have been forced to renounce my project of condensing for the readers of the Journal Professor VON PÖHLMANN's most interesting and timely volume—*Geschichte der sozialen Frage u. des Socialismus in der antiken Welt, Zweite, vermehrte u. verbesserte Auflage* (München, Oskar Beck). There is great danger, as we all know, of projecting—etymologically a bad word—there is great danger of projecting the ideals and wishes of the present into the past, of finding more communism and socialism in antiquity than the facts will permit in the present state of our knowledge; and one such instance out of many I will note for the readers of *Brief Mention*. It has been maintained, says Professor VON PÖHLMANN, that the modern cry for liberty, equality and fraternity is simply a cry for a return to the old conditions of social life. The history of classical antiquity is from this point of view nothing but the history of the crowding out of communism by private property. The village green, the village common, is a survival of the olden time—of the time when flocks and herds were kept together, grazed now on summer, now on winter pasture, where there was one fold and one shepherd—the head of the community, who saw to the just division of the common products. Unfortunately, he says, there is no proof that the original conditions of things were as simple as that; the accepted progress through the stages of the hunter, the nomad, the tiller of the soil, according to VON PÖHLMANN, lacks convincing proof, and once more the historical parallel bars break down under the gymnast (A. J. P. XXXI 111).

In the Preface to his Wonder Book, Hawthorne says that 'classical myths <are> capable of being rendered into very capital reading for children. . . . So long as man exists, they can never perish; but, by their indestructibility itself, they are legitimate subjects for every age to clothe with its own garniture of manners and sentiment, and to imbue with its own morality'. How easily all impurity may be made to fall away from Greek mythology, especially in the refined air which Hawthorne and his companions breathed, has been signally exemplified by an extract from Emerson's Journal (viii, p. 26), to which my attention has been called by a friend who is curious in matters philosophical. From this extract I learn that Ganymede was known to the great thinker only as a cupbearer—only as a male neat-handed Phyllis. How else could he have 'delighted' in Martial II 43, 14, 'as showing the elegance of self-service, his own practice'? If my Pindar should ever reach another edition, which is unlikely, I shall know how to annotate virginibus puer-

isque, O. I 45: τῷδ' ἐπὶ χρέος, and I am surprised that Professor Post should not have included in his selection Martial IX 42, XI 73. Surely the phrase 'left-hand marriage' would not offend the most fastidious. To the initiated all this 'dainger d'estre trop coquebin' simply illustrates a danger to which the classical scholar is not exposed. Your classical scholar is clad in the white robe of the anatomical theatre and his indignation is stirred only when some pedant like Browning takes advantage of the ignorance of innocence (A. J. P. XXXII 484).

The intaglio of irony is a dangerous figure, to the practice of which Americans are too much given; and I am an American. Knowing this failing of mine, I have read with care my comment on Professor Goodell's article about μή, in the last volume of the Journal, but I must confess that I cannot see how any one acquainted with the English language could have summarized my views, as has been done in the April number of the *Rivista di Filologia*, not the least valuable and suggestive of the periodicals that come into my hands. 'A proposito del precedente articolo del Goodell, del quale in somma l'a. accetta le conclusioni.' This is a summary with a vengeance, a summary at which no one will be more surprised than Professor Goodell himself. If the summarizer had only translated my words (A. J. P. XXXIII 499): 'According to Professor Goodell the conceptual has come to its own. According to my view there is only an extension based on the primal volitive'. Professor Goodell and I are poles asunder.

The typographical and other oversights that mar the pages of the last number of the Journal and haply this number also are a manner of tribute to the vigilance of my friend and collaborator, Professor C. W. E. MILLER, whose absence is doubtless responsible for sundry errors of the press. I have done my best. πόθειον δέ μιν ἐσθλὸν εἶναι. He would never have suffered 'Olymthiac' to pass (p. 112, l. 24) nor the egregious η in the penult of Δημοσθένης (l. 32), nor 'choriamic' for 'choriambic' (p. 114, l. 33.) He would have deleted the XII (p. 214, l. 35). He would have prevented P(ythian) ibid. from becoming Ps(alm) and 'afin' (p. 115, l. 15) would not have lost its 'que' in that ominous verse.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DIALOGUE OF TACITUS ONCE MORE.

A Rejoinder.

To the Editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

Sir: You have been singularly generous in allotting so much space in years gone by to the present writer's work on the 'aureus libellus' of Tacitus. I should, therefore, have hesitated long before claiming still more, were it not that the first number of the current volume contained an attack on a recent contribution of mine which, if left unanswered, might imply my acquiescence in its justification. I shall be as brief as possible, presuming in the reader an acquaintance with the original paper and Principal Peterson's criticism.¹

Before proceeding to examine my opponent's objections it is only fair to state that, since the publication of the article in Classical Philology, I have twice repeated the laborious measurement of the Agricola quaternion. The result, while it differed slightly from my former calculation, still approximated to it so closely that the conclusion drawn by me was in no way invalidated. The final revised figures will be given in the new edition of my Dialogus now passing through the Teubner press.

1. Dr. Peterson maintains that a calculation based on averages—they are based, by the way, on the measurement of 960 half-lines—constitutes a 'slender foundation for a process claiming arithmetical exactitude', and he then cheerily proceeds for the next four pages to deal in averages of his own which ex hypothesi ought, therefore, to possess but little validity! It is the same old story, 'dum duo idem faciunt, non est idem'. As a matter of fact, I never claimed mathematical infallibility for the averages in question and I should not be worried in the least, if still another revision revealed an excess or lack of a few lines,

¹ For this reason I shall merely note in passing that the rectification of Sabbadini's arithmetical slip in calculating the extent of the large lacuna, the observation regarding the discrepancy between the 'sex folia' of Decembrio and the 'sex paginae (pagellae)' of the MSS. and the significance of certain variants taken by Decembrio from the archetype were one and all pointed out for the first time and discussed in my article, a trifling circumstance which Dr. Peterson apparently forgot to mention in again dealing with the self-same topics. Cp. especially p. 12 'Students of the text of the Dialogus will note', etc.; p. 13, 'It is easy to calculate that the lacuna amounts to 4/15'.

for, as I was careful to state, we cannot fix the precise proportion of unequal lines in the Dialogue archetype. It is quite sufficient in matters of this kind to attain to a reasonably close approximation, that will methodically justify an inference.

2. The extant written portion of the archetype does not yield, we are told, the same measurements as Annibaldi's diplomatic reproduction. Of course, it doesn't. But for the purpose of spacial comparisons only a printed text is available and its use is justified, because the lines are retained, they not being printed continuously. In fact, Dr. Peterson himself has also operated with the printed, not with the written text.

3. But even supposing I had satisfactorily accounted for the four pages up to the juncture, where a second lacuna is postulated on internal grounds, Dr. Peterson contends that my 'arithmetical processes are found completely to collapse' for the one page or half folio still left according to the statement of Decembrio (*folia duo cum dimidio*). According to Peterson's own 'estimate', the text from c. 36 to the end took up at least three folios. Now, as we must assume, what Peterson himself admits, Decembrio 'to have been correct', it necessarily follows, one should suppose, that there must be something wrong about that 'estimate'. But so far from drawing this only logical conclusion, Dr. Peterson, after proposing one explanation only to reject it at once, argues at length that the entire Dialogue was written by an entirely different scribe from the one who had penned the original, still extant quaternion, but identical with the one who had written the closing portions of the Agricola. It was a finer script and there were more lines to a page. This hypothesis is based upon an alleged discovery of Annibaldi, who believed he recognized in a page of the original, which had been erased to make way for the Germania text, clear traces of the above mentioned characteristics. But the correctness of this view is open to very serious objections, as may be shown by the very first folio of the Agricola which Guarnieri added to the archetype torso. For the recto of only 28 lines contains no fewer than 345 cm., while the verso takes up but 302.9 cm., with 89 abbreviations of all kinds on the recto to 40 compendia, all of a very simple nature, on the verso. By parity of reasoning, therefore, we should be compelled to assume two scribes for this one folio—a palpable *reductio ad absurdum*. Dr. Peterson has simply conjured up a very serious difficulty which is purely imaginary, in order to explain it by an intrinsically improbable hypothesis. But not content with this, he caps the climax with another assumption, for which there is not a shred of evidence or a shadow of plausibility. 'Is it conceivable', he asks, 'that the Hersfeld codex was composite, consisting of two portions, one written in the 10th and the other in the 13th century'? 'An affirmative answer would make the transmission of the Dialogue, under the name of Tacitus, a greater mystery than ever'. It certainly would, and it is not

'conceivable', why one should resort to such an explanation, so long as there isn't any mystery at all about the codex Hersfeldensis at present, even though we may never learn just how its various parts were so lamentably rent asunder and scattered. 'It would probably have to imply that a copyist in the 13th century added two folia to complete the text of a 10th century MS. of the Agricola and then went on to transcribe the Dialogus and the Suetonius from some unknown original'. Surely conjectural fancy can reach no higher flight than this and it is disconcerting to be brought down to terra firma again by being told 'It must suffice to state the conundrum without any further attempt to answer it'. Doubtless it would take a θαυμασιώτατος λυτικός to do so successfully.

I feel convinced that Dr. Peterson's labyrinthian structure is built on quicksands. If the closing page of the Dialogus must have been more closely written than the preceding two folios, in order to vindicate the quite unimpeachable testimony of Decembrio, there is nothing to prevent us from simply conceding this to have been actually the case. For it would be the most natural and sensible thing in the world, that a scribe, coming to the end of an entire treatise, should all but inevitably desire to include what was still left on the recto or verso of a folio. But to accomplish this, he would often be compelled to write more closely and even to add a few more lines if possible. If this process was adopted in the case of the Dialogus, all real and fancied difficulties vanish without creating new insoluble ones, such as postulating two different, non-contemporaneous scribes, with different styles of writing for a MS. of such relatively small bulk as the codex Hersfeldensis must have had.

Dr. Peterson styles Decembrio 'a careful observer' and he very justly says that the present tense in 'post hec deficiunt sex folia' points to personal observation. Under these circumstances it requires considerable courage to state, that in the determination of the great lacuna 'no certain result has as yet been reached' (p. 3), while convinced that 'it is easy to calculate, that the lacuna amounts to $4/15$ of the whole treatise, or rather more than one-fourth' (p. 3). But the secret of Dr. Peterson's reluctance to accept this admittedly certain calculation is, that it is absolutely fatal to his cherished belief that c. 36-41 inclusive were spoken uno tenore by Maternus, even if we wholly disregard the internal reasons¹ which make this assumption impossible. For if

¹ These have been more fully set forth and strengthened in my new edition and I shall only state here that Dr. Peterson goes quite astray in citing 'ut subinde admoneo' as a proof that Maternus is the speaker throughout and thereby shows himself conscious of indulging in redundancies. Those words, on the contrary, if they prove anything, show how absurd it would be for Maternus, after reminding his hearers twice of the main theme at issue, to do so a third time in c. 40 (non de otiosa re, etc.). What obtuse and inattentive listeners he must have had!

there be anything incontrovertibly certain, it is, that Secundus took a prominent part in the debate—Tacitus tells us so himself twice (c. 1 cum singuli . . . causas adferrent and c. 16)—and that the lacuna contained a discussion of the historical development of Greek eloquence (c. 36 eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit). But if so, then in Dr. Peterson's view, these six folia must have comprised the close of Messalla's speech, the usual interloquium, an entire speech of Secundus, whose contents, by the way, would be extremely problematical, and finally that part of Maternus' closing speech which dealt with Greek orators. Even that mythical second scribe with his alleged 'finer and closer script' would have been sorely puzzled to crowd so much matter within the given compass.

There are other items in Principal Peterson's paper to which I must take exception, but as they have no bearing upon the questions dealt with in my article, their discussion may well be omitted here.

To conclude, however, with a pleasanter note, there is one point in which I find myself in full accord with my critic, as will be seen from my treatment of these questions in my Prolegomena. It is the observation, that the archetype was virtually free from all the less common compendia and that the MS. errors directly traceable to these were, therefore, due to abbreviations in the apographa and I only differ from Dr. Peterson in including not only X, but also Y and in disregarding an intervening independent archetype of the 13th century. The compendia in the 15th century copy of Guarnieri show, that we need not postulate a still earlier source to account for their prevalence.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

MUNICH.

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